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A
R E V I E W

OF THE WHOLE

Political Conduct

OF A LATE

Eminent Patriot,

AND

HIS FRIENDS;

For TWENTY YEARS last past :

In which is contained,

A Complete History of the late Opposition :

AND A

FULL ANSWER to a Pamphlet, entitled;
Faction detected by the Evincer of Facts, &c.

Ex tuo Ore te judicabo.

L O N D O N :

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P R E F A C E.



THE following Sheets were originally undertaken at the Command of a Person of Quality and Distinction. Had his Life been spared for the Good of his Country, they perhaps would have appeared to much more Advantage than they do at present. Their first Intention was to give a clear and succinct Account of the Rise, Steps, Principles and Progress of the late Opposition; but in order to guide the Thread of the Narration with greater Perspicuity, it was found expedient to fix it to one Point of Light, viz. The Conduct of the Gentleman, who was generally thought to be at the Head of the Party.

The Reader therefore will easily be brought to perceive the Consistency of the Conduct of certain Gentlemen who have now changed their Denomination, which never can be constructed to be criminal, unless when it carries along with it a Change of Principles, from obvious Reasons of Interest or Ambition.

The

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P R E F A C E.

The whole is collected either from Words of the Gentlemen themselves, or from Notes of those Facts, which a long Intimacy with the Parties gave the Author an Opportunity of collecting from the most undoubted Information. In the Progress of this Compilation, a very extraordinary Performance, almost upon the same Subject, but upon different Principles, appeared in Public *. This naturally led the Author to look into it, and he soon found that the Boldness of the Assertions, and the Importance of the Facts stated in that Work, together with an almost universally received Opinion, that the Work itself was the Political Creed of the Party, and perhaps fell from the Pen of the Person who is the Subject of the following Sheets, had greatly engaged the Attention of the Public. It then became necessary to intermix his Observations upon that profound Piece, which he is of Opinion is the best Apology that has been or ever will be made for the Conduct of the Party, with the Body of the Work itself, and this necessarily swell'd the Work to an undesirable Size. But we hope the Importance of the Facts laid open, together with the almost insuperable Difficulty of coming at those Facts, through any other Channel, will excuse it to the Public.

* Faction detected by the Evidence of Facts.

THE



THE WHOLE
CONDUCT

OF A LATE

Eminent Patriot.



O forgive and forget, are very wise Christian Maxims, but very bad Political Ones. The *English* History is eminent for Instances of this kind, and the Nation has by this mistaken Good-nature been again and again brought to the Brink of Ruin.

The Person who is the profess'd Subject of the following Pages, has ever acted in the most violent Extremes of Compliance and Opposition. The Reader will find him, when in Power, alternately a Tyrant and a Slave; and when out of Power sacrificing his Rest, Ease, Conscience, in short, every thing but his Fortune, to get into it again. A Man, the best of Men, may do wrong, and then repent: In which Case it is both inhuman and unjust to upbraid their former Miscarriages.

riages. Had our Hero persisted in his Opposition to wicked Measures, the violent Extremes to which he sometimes carried it, might have been attributed to his natural Disposition, and a Desire to make the best Attonement he could for his past Conduct : But after he could no longer hold Power, he wanted to pull it down ; after he had help'd to pull it down, he has been chiefly instrumental to restore it to a greater Degree than it ever was known to be at under this free Government ; and in defiance of all Ties of Honour, Conscience, and Faith, has with but too good Success endeavour'd to re-establish Measures which all the Nation seconded him in destroying. The Design of these Pages, therefore, is to keep alive and warm that Spirit of Resentment which ought to animate an injur'd People, till it has an Opportunity to discharge itself upon its proper Objects ; and who they are will best appear from the following Review.

That we may proceed in this Design with all possible Candour and Impartiality, we shall omit taking any Notice of that Part of our Patriot's Life which we may call the *Heyday of the Blood*, and in which the greatest Men have been influenc'd by the Heat of youthful Passions, and Pursuits, of which cooler Reflection made them ashamed. We have therefore fix'd the Period of our Disquisition to the Commencement of the late Opposition, when his advanc'd Age and riper Judgment left him no Excuse from the Imperuosity of Youth.

The late, and indeed the present Opposition, was unquestionably begun by those Gentlemen who are sometimes distinguish'd by the Name of *Tories*, and sometimes by that of *Jacobites*. The Accessions it received till the Year 1724, or thereabouts, from the *Whigs*, were but rare and inconsiderable. Mr. * * in the 8th Year of his late Majesty, was one of those who found it convenient to speak and vote with the *Tories*, to whom he had hitherto express'd

an irreconcilable Enmity. During the Dependence in Parliament of a Bill *to enable the South-Sea Company to dispose of the Effects in their Hands, by way of Lottery or Subscription, in order to pay the Debts of the said Company*, R. W. Esq; having offered the famous engrafting Clause, Mr. * *, in Conjunction with the *Tories*, thought fit to oppose his Friend, as he had done in several other Questions in that and the preceding Session of Parliament. But upon the sitting down of the next Parliament, the Cause of his Opposition having ceased, by his being appointed in the intermediate Time a Lord L — — t, and receiving Assurance of a more substantial Promotion, we find him extremely eager for all the violent Measures proposed by the C — —. The first Fruits of this Reconciliation betwixt his Friend and him, appeared in his moving the House for an Address of Thanks for the Speech from the Throne, which had taken notice of *Laver's Plot*. This loyal Address took notice of the *disfmal Consequences of the Plot, had it not been discovered, and congratulated his Majesty on the timely Discovery of the dangerous and unnatural Conspiracy against his Person and Government, and expressing the Detestation and Abhorrence of the House against the Conspirators*. As the *Torie* suspected that the whole of this Plot was a Plot of the Ministry to remove and harrass some People, who gave them a good deal of Uneasiness; so they were for throwing in a Clause to prevent what they foresaw would be the next Step, *viz.* A Bill for suspending the *Habeas Corpus Act*. This appeared the more reasonable, as they had yet before them no other Evidence of the Plot but from the Speech from the Throne, which has ever been look'd upon as the Speech of the M — —. But all their Reasoning was answered by Mr. * * in a Speech, where he introduces all that Reverence, nay Idolatry for the Crown and the Ministry, which he afterwards affected

fect to condemn and detest. So the Motion for the Amendment was dropt.

In the next Debate, upon the great interesting Question of suspending the *Habeas Corpus* Act, the great and peculiar Blessing of *Englishmen*, Mr. * * appeared extremely keen, and distinguish'd himself by bellowing against the Conspirators, magnifying the Ministry, and ridiculing the *Habeas Corpus* Act ; tho' a great many, who even were in the Court Interest, were very backward to comply with the Suspension, and some of them were against it upon the Division.

He distinguish'd himself in favour of the Court with equal Zeal and Success in the next Debate, viz. Upon an Augmentation of the Army ; a Question which, during his Opposition, he always made to be the Test of Patriotism : And in all the Jobs perform'd by the Ministry afterwards, to screen the *South Sea* Directors, they were sure of Mr. * * for their faithful Bullyback. In the mysterious Affair of *Laver's* Conspiracy, our Hero distinguish'd himself by an implicit Faith in every thing that was offer'd or asserted by the Ministry, before one Circumstance of Evidence was laid before the House ; and even opposed the reading in the House the very Papers that had been laid before them pursuant to their own Address. In all the Proceedings of the Committee (of which Mr. * * was C——n) upon this Plot, his Zeal for the M———y boil'd over to such an Excess, as made him afterwards so ashamed, that he attempted to deny the Part he had in that Affair, as we shall see when we come to that Part of our Review.

Upon a Motion of Mr. *W.* for apprehending Dr. *Friend*, a Debate arose, in which the *Tories* attempted to shew the dangerous Precedent which such a Step might set. Mr. *Shippen* took notice, “ That
“ the Freedom with which Dr. *Friend* had deli-
“ vered himself some Days before, upon the Sub-
“ ject

“ ject of the Plot, might have been the Reason
 “ why he was so particularly pointed out, and
 “ that if once this Practice was introduc’d, there
 “ would be no End of Commitments ; for that
 “ he did not doubt but that he himself would be
 “ committed, for he was resolv’d to use the Liber-
 “ ty of Speech upon that and all other Occa-
 “ sions.” This Speech, tho’ perfectly Parlia-
 mentary, and agreeable to the Duty of every Mem-
 ber, irritated Mr. ** to such a Degree, that he
 quite lost all Patience, and insolently told the
 House *that it was no unusual thing for one Traitor*
to excuse another. This was a Reflection that set
 all Order of the House, and all the Freedom of
 Speech at defiance, and could proceed from no
 other Principle, but that which influenc’d all the
 Actions of our Patriot’s Life, I mean deep Ran-
 cour against every Man who stood in the Way of
 his Ambition or Interest ; which was followed by
 as mean Compliances to promote them.

The first Question which happened in favour of
 the Court in the next Session of Parliament, which
 began *January 9, 1723-4*, was that for keeping
 up the same Number of Forces that Year as the
 last. The *Tories* urg’d and prov’d unanswerably
 by aught but a Majority of Numbers, that the
 same Reasons ceased, and therefore the Number
 of Forces ought to be reduced. But our Hero,
 who had received a fresh Measure of Zeal from
 an additional Post of a very considerable Value,
viz. that of being C——r of the H——d,
 flam’d out in Zeal for the Question, which was ac-
 cordingly carry’d. It may not be amiss to inform
 the Reader, that this Post was positively made the
 Price of his Compliance, and that the Court found
 so good an Account in his Zeal and Compliance
 with every mean Jobb they propos’d, that a noble
 Lord was removed from it, at the Expence of giv-
 ing him a Pension of 5000*l.* to make way for him.

It was upon his being apprehensive that he would be removed from this Post in 1725, that we may date the Commencement of his Patriotism.

The first Appearance of this extraordinary Phenomenon broke out upon a Debate, with regard to a Message sent by the King, for making good the Deficiency of the Civil List: Mr. * * upon this Message took notice of the Shortness of the Time since they last cleared the Incumbrances upon the Civil List, and moved for an Address to his Majesty, “ That he would be graciously pleased to
 “ give Directions that the proper Officer or Officers of the Exchequer, Excise, Customs, and
 “ Post Office, do lay before the House an Account
 “ of all Monies, which have been issued and paid
 “ out of the said Offices to any Person or Persons
 “ on Account for the Privy Purse, Secret Service,
 “ Pensions, Bounties, or any Sum or Sums to any
 “ Person or Persons whatsoever without Account,
 “ from *March 25, 1721, to March 25, 1725.*” This Address was voted accordingly, and a Motion being made next Day that the Speaker might leave the Chair, that the House might take the Message into Consideration, our Patriot, whom every Body knew was one of the chief Causes why such a Message became necessary, opposed the Consideration of the Message till the Papers were laid before the House, and then charg’d Mr. *W.* with the very Crime, which Mr. *W.* with much more Justice retorted upon himself, *viz.* his sharing the Spoils which had occasion’d so great a Deficiency.

Our new Convert was contented all the remaining Part of the Session with lying by, being in Hopes that the Specimen he had already shewn of his Abilities for Opposition, wou’d be sufficient to induce his Rival to *bid up to his Price*; but that being found too exorbitant, we find him in the next Session resuming his Opposition. It was about this
 Time

Time that the great Party against the Court was form'd, by a Coalition betwixt the *Tories* and the *Whigs* out of Power. Their Numbers, as yet, were but thin, and the latter began to think of associating our Hero into their Body. This was proposed in one of their Meetings, but the Violence of his Career, when he was in Post, had created him so many personal Enemies, that a strong Opposition was made to it. His former Connections with, and Dependance upon the Minister, was so recent in their Minds, that they cou'd not look upon him as any other than one of the Wheels of the Ministerial Chariot put out of Order, but would soon be set right by applying to it a little of the Tar and Grease of Court-favour. Some went even so far as to suspect, whether his Difference with the Minister was not a meer Feint, and a Trick of the latter, to turn him loose among the Country Party, and so that they might play to one another's Hand, by his betraying every thing that passed to the Administration.

We are not sufficiently authorized from any Facts that have come to our Knowledge, to say that this last was the Case ; but the Manner of his After-Behaviour certainly proved, that he was either a Spy of the M — r, or that he was possess'd of a Peevishness, Inconstancy, Levity, and Irresolution, scarcely to be met with amongst the rest of Mankind. The Reasons that induce us to believe the first rather than the last, are as follow :

It was observed, that when any Point, by any manner of means, was brought to bear against the M — r, so as that Numbers began to be upon a Par, he either took the Head of the Debate, and then totally gave it up, or alter'd it so as the whole Design became ineffectual ; or he absented, and wou'd not come near the House at all. Many Instances cou'd be brought of the first, particularly several Questions about Motions for Papers, that
about

about the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, which he evidently baulk'd, and Enquiries into the public Revenue. Some Instances we had of the latter ; in the Affair of *Porteous* and the Town of *Edinburgh*, when the Numbers were so ballanc'd, as that the Vote came to be decided by the Chairman's Voice, he totally absented himself during all the Debate ; giving for it this very wise Reason, *viz. That if the Government had a Mind to make a whole People their Enemies, it was none of his Business to hinder them.* A Conduct of this kind, at a Time when a Question against the Court, if carried by however inconsiderable a Majority, would have inspir'd the Friends of their Country with new Life and Spirits, and when his single Vote would have carry'd it, leaves very little room to doubt of the Views with which he oppos'd the C——t.

On the other hand, we cannot presume that this Conduct proceeded from Levity or Inconstancy, because we find him, during the whole Course of his Opposition, invariably adhering to one Point, *viz.* his own Interest. Even his favourite Paper, when it fell under a Prosecution, could not squeeze so much Money from him as to defend it ; and when we compare the Mysteriousness of his Behaviour while he was pursuing the *Means* of getting at his great End, with the End itself, we can easily account for it ; and, upon the whole, comparing all Circumstances together, there is rather Reason, than otherwise, to believe, that all the Grimace of his Opposition was a solemn Farce play'd betwixt the M——r and him for Twenty Years. But to proceed in our Review.

Mr. * * 's Friends push'd so hard to get him into Confidence with the Opposition, that they succeeded, after formally introducing him to their Club, where, upon his Knees, he vowed a solemn and an eternal Revenge against the M——r. A Gentleman, who was then warm in the Opposition,
and

and is now in a high Post, was his Surety to the Assembly : And now we will begin with his Operations as fix'd in the Country Party.

We are now to consider our Hero as a *Profess'd Opposition-Man* : And as the Design of these Pages is to give an Opportunity to the Public of comparing the Measures of which he was either the Author, Conductor, or Advocate, with those which he has embraced since he received a *new Light* ; so we shall lay a Detail of them before the Public, who will be thereby enabled to judge of the *extreme* Consistency of his Conduct.

The Year 1726 will be ever memorable for the Treaty of *Hanover* betwixt the Kings of *Britain, France, and Prussia*, and which was this Year laid before the House. The Foundation of this Treaty was upon either a *real* or *pretended*, but in every Sense a most *ridiculous Panic*, which our Government was seiz'd with, with regard to the Designs of the House of *Austria*. Public Declarations were upon this Occasion made, that the Emperor was not only fully resolved to establish the *Ostend* Trade, in prejudice of the most valuable Rights of our Commerce, but had enter'd into concert with the King of *Spain* to put the *Pretender* on the Throne of *Britain*. Tho' this ridiculous Story met with the Contempt it deserv'd, and has ever since been treated with the utmost Indignation, both public and private, yet the Reader will be amazed, when we inform him, that a near Relation of our late Prime Minister, and one who was at that time in an eminent Station at a foreign Court, had the peculiar Assurance, even since the Commencement of the present Parliament, to affirm, in a full House of Commons, the Reality of this Conspiracy betwixt these two Monarchs, with this particular Circumstance, " that the Engagement was sign'd by the *Emperor* and every one of his *Counsellors*, excepting Prince *Eugene*."

Whatever may be in this, it is certain that a Foundation was laid, by this *Hanover Alliance*, for all the Calamities which afterwards befel the House of *Austria*. Nor could our Hero have set out with more Advantages in his Opposition, than was afforded him by this unnatural and unpopular Conjunction of foreign Interests. However, the Court carried the Motion for the same Number of Land-Forces as were kept up the Year before.

As the M——r had now begun to form his Party, which was threatened by a more formidable Opposition than it had hitherto met with ; and as the Means of increasing and continuing his Power, entirely consisted in his Compliance with the foreign Measures which had been concerted so much to *Great Britain's* Detriment and Expence, so it was reasonable to expect, that all these Steps would not be taken without great Profusion of public Money. Accordingly, *February 9*, Mr. * * moved, “ That a Committee be appointed to state the
“ Public Debts, as they stood on the 25th of *De-*
“ *cember 1714*, with what Debts have been in-
“ curred since that Time, till the 25th of *Decem-*
“ *ber 1725*, distinguishing how much of the said
“ Debts have been provided for, and how much
“ remain unprovided for by Parliament.”

This Motion was penn'd by our Hero's Friend and Cousin, Mr. D—— P——, the ablest Man for Accounts and foreign Affairs that was then in the House of Commons ; but met with great Opposition from the Court, and from an eminent Member for the City of *London* : Upon which our new Patriot stood up, and declared, *That he made this Motion with no other View, than to give that Great Man an Opportunity to shew his Integrity to the whole World, which would finish his sublime Character.* To which, Sir R. W. answered, *That this Compliment would have come out with a better Grace, and appeared more sincere, when that fine*
Gentleman

Gentleman had himself a Share in the Management of the Public Money, than now he was out of Place. Then the Question being put upon Mr. * * 's Motion, it was carried in the Negative, by 262 Votes against 89.

I have chosen to give the Numbers on this Division, that the Reader may see how slender the Number of the Opposition was, even at this time, upon so important and reasonable a Motion ; and I hope such of my Readers as have any Opportunities of making a personal Opposition to the present Measures in P——t, will, from this Circumstance, learn not to be discouraged, whatever Baulks they may meet with, especially as the Grounds of their Opposition are now more justifiable than they then were, and their Numbers more powerful.

Some Days after, the several Treaties laid before the House, betwixt his Majesty and foreign Powers, and the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, were taken into the Consideration of the House, which ended in a Motion of Address of Thanks, conceived in very loyal Terms : This was opposed with great Vigour by our Patriot and his Friends ; and he particularly observed, “ That the Imperial “ Court’s Backwardness in granting the Investiture “ of *Bremen* and *Verden* might have been one of “ the Motives to some late Measures.” Upon this Sir *R. W.* stood up and assured the House, “ That his Majesty might long ago have had the “ same Investiture, if he would have paid the “ exorbitant Fees that were demanded for it.” Upon the whole Matter the Question being put on Mr. P——m’s Motion, it was carried in the Affirmative, by 285 Voices against 107. And a Committee was appointed to draw up an Address according to the said Resolution. The next Day Mr. P——m reported the said Address, which was agreed to.

The Reader will see, from the Nature of this Debate, that the real Principles of the Opposition were, to have no Consideration for the *H———n* Dominions, since we find that they opposed the Measures then taken, upon a Principle that they were calculated only for the Security and Advantage of these Dominions, tho' they were told by Authority, that *if such Measures had not been enter'd into, even the Protestant Succession to the Crown of Great Britain must have been endanger'd.* How well our Hero has pursued these Maxims since his Apostacy, I shall leave to the Consideration of every Reader, when he reflects that the War we are now engag'd in on the Continent, in favour of the same Dominions, have none of these Reasons to excuse it, nor any one Consideration, which either remotely or immediately affects the Trade, the Interest, or the Establishment of the *British* Nation.

A very extraordinary Message having been sent this Session from his Majesty, acquainting the House of Commons, “ That he not only found it necessary to augment his Maritime Force, but to concert such Measures as may most effectually conduce to these desirable Ends ; and as these Services will require some extraordinary Expence, his Majesty hopes he shall be enabled, by the Assistance of Parliament, to increase the Number of Seamen already voted and granted for the Service of this Year, and to enter into, and make good, such Engagements, as the Circumstances and Exigency of Affairs may require.”

This Message having created a great Surprise in the House, our Patriot and his Friends moved, that an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, “ That he would be graciously pleased to direct the proper Officers to lay before the House, an Account of the Disposition of the 250,000 *l.* granted

“ granted to his Majesty, on the 13th of *April*,
 “ 1717, to enable his Majesty to concert such
 “ Measures with foreign Princes and States, as
 “ might prevent any Charge or Apprehensions
 “ from the Designs of *Sweden*.” But this Motion
 was rejected upon the previous Question. The
 Reader will please to observe, that at the time when
 this 250,000 *l.* was granted, this Nation was ac-
 tually threaten’d with an Invasion from *Sweden* in
 favour of the *Pretender*; yet so jealous was our
 virtuous Patriot of granting Money without Ac-
 count, even in that interesting Conjunction, that he
 struggled as hard for this Motion, as he did against
 coming to any Resolution in favour of his Majesty’s
 Message. And yet since he himself came into Mea-
 sures, we have seen, without the least apparent
 Danger or Necessity, Millions granted, and wan-
 tonly lavish’d, and not only our Sea Forces aug-
 mented, but the Nation saddled by an Army of
 near 80,000 Men in its Pay.

The latter End of this Year 1726, our Patriot
 set up the *Craftsman*, in Conjunction with his Cou-
 sin whom I have already mention’d, and some
 other Gentlemen of the Party. The Operator, or,
 if you will, the standing Author, was one Mr.
Amburst, a Person extremely well qualify’d for
 our Hero’s Purposes, having been expell’d the U-
 niversity for his Behaviour, and having this in
 common with his Patron, that his Resentment was
 whetted by the Minister’s having rejected all Offers
 of his Service. But it could not have been in the
 Power either of this Author, or his Patron, to have
 supported the Reputation of this Paper to the De-
 gree to which it was carried, had it not been for
 the excellent Hints of his Friend Mr. D —
 P ——— and the inimitable Pen of the late Lord
B ———ke, whose Attainder was partly taken off
 under this Ministry, tho’ he soon became their irre-
 concilable Foe. It was not long before this Paper
 was

was taken Notice of by the Government, by several severe Prosecutions set on Foot against the Printer, but defended chiefly at the Expence of Mr. * *, *who then* thought it no Crime to write against the Ministry.

In the next Session, which was in the Year 1727, the Public began to suspect, that the mighty Stir which had been made by the Courtiers about the Secret Offensive Alliance betwixt the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, which was to put the *Pretender* on the Throne of *Britain*, was all a Fiction, and therefore they were resolved, if they could, effectually to expose it; for this End they took Advantages of some Resolutions the House had come to for addressing the King for Copies of the Accession of the States General to the Treaty of *Hanover*, together with the separate Articles, if there were any; as also for the Copies of such Memorials and Letters, with the Answers thereto, as pass'd between his Majesty's Ministers and the Courts of *Vienna* and *Spain*, since the Communication of the Treaty of Peace between the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, to his Majesty by the Emperor's Minister; to push for a Motion of the same Nature, which was made by Mr. * * to address his Majesty for the Secret Offensive Alliance between the Emperor and the King of *Spain*; both these Questions were carried in the Negative without dividing.

Motions for Papers were always favourite ones with the Gentlemen in Opposition to the late Administration, because they are agreeable to the Constitution; and they put the Court under very great Difficulties in the Debate, since, in their very Arguments for refusing them, some Part of the Reasons why they want to keep them a Secret, must perspire; and even the Defeat of such Motions have been look'd upon as Matter of Triumph to the Minority. Mr. * * used to shine in Debates of this kind, and always took it for granted

ted that the Minister's refusing Papers to be communicated to the House, was a certain Sign of Guilt : Such was his Conduct for 16 or 17 Years, when Alliances and Negotiations have been depending, the Success or Miscarriage of which did not essentially affect the Interest of *Great Britain*. And yet we find him and his Followers not only shuffling, but actually dividing, against such Motions after they came in Power, and at Conjunctions too, when the whole of the Interests of this Country were at Stake, and perhaps depended upon the Lights which such Papers alone could communicate ; but of this more in its proper Place.

In this Year a Land-Tax of Four Shillings in the Pound was moved for by the Minister : The Reasons given to support this Motion were the Combination enter'd into by the Emperor and the King of *Spain* to put the *Pretender* on the Throne of *Britain* ; the Hostilities already commenced by the Crown of *Spain* ; the Infraction of our most important Treaties of Commerce, and the Memorial of the Emperor's Minister, which he left upon being recall'd from the Court of *London*, and which his Majesty himself said from the Throne, was little short of a Declaration of War. If any thing could justify a Land-Tax of Four Shillings in the Pound, these Reasons, which are all taken from his Majesty's own Mouth, certainly did. But our violent Patriot, with his Friends, opposed this Motion from the very great Tendernefs they had for the Landed Interest, and alledged, that it was more eligible to apply the Produce of the Sinking Fund towards the present Necessities ; but the Question being put upon Sir *Robert Walpole's* Motion, it was resolved in the Affirmative, by 190 Voices against 81, which Resolution, being the next Day reported, was agreed to by the House.

Let the Reader compare this Behaviour of the Opposition, at a Juncture attended with such peculiar

liar and dangerous Circumstances, to justify the Necessity of this Tax, with what has happened in this P——, upon an Occasion in which the *Pretender* is not so much as mentioned, no Part of our Trade alledged to be violated, no Hostilities against us, or any Part of our foreign Dominions either commenced or menac'd, and when the Circumstances of the Nation are reduced by a long and unsuccessful War with another Power ; and yet, under these Circumstances, we have seen not only a Land-Tax of Four Shillings in the Pound laid on, but the *Sinking Fund* itself applied to make good the Expence.

Another Question which made a good deal of Noise this Session, and in which Mr. * * had a large Share, was the Letter wrote by his late Majesty to the King of *Spain*, containing a Promise of the Restitution of *Gibraltar*. The Gentlemen of the Opposition had a regular Information of this Fact, from a Letter laid before them in pursuance of their Address of *January 23*, for Papers, from a Letter from the Marquess *de Pozzobueno's* Letter to the D. of *N——le*. Accordingly, *Feb. 6*, Mr. *Sandys* moved, “ That an humble Address be
 “ presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to communicate to this House,
 “ Copies of the Declaration, Letter, or Engagement, which, in the Marquess *de Pozzobueno's*
 “ Letter to the D. of *N——le* of the 21st of
 “ *December* last, is asserted to be a positive Promise, upon which the King of *Spain* founds his
 “ peremptory Demand for the Restitution of *Gibraltar*, which had been so solemnly yielded to
 “ the Crown of *Great Britain* by the Treaty of
 “ *Utrecht*, and was afterwards confirm'd and
 “ granted to *Great Britain* by the King of *Spain's*
 “ Accession to the *Quadruple Alliance*.” This Motion was supported with great Warmth by several Members, particularly by Mr. * *, who took
 notice

notice of a Letter written in 1721, to one of the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries at *Cambray*, wherein a Promise for the Restitution of *Gibraltar* was expressly mention'd. But his old Friend Sir *R. W.* opposed the Motion, because, said he, the Promise made by his Majesty was but conditional; and as for the Declaration or Letter, the Communication of which was insisted on, the same was altogether impracticable and unprecedented; the private Cabinets of Princes being almost as sacred as their very Persons. But Mr. ** in Opposition to this affirm'd, that the Promise was absolute and conditional, since the Treaty mentioned in the Letter had actually been ratify'd by the King of *Spain*.

As the Reader cannot be so sensible of the Importance of the Debates on this Question, which were often renewed, without seeing the Letter itself, it may be proper to print it here.

C O P Y of a LETTER from his late Majesty King GEORGE the First to the King of *Spain*.

SIR, my BROTHER,

I Have learned with great Satisfaction, by the Report of my Ambassador at your Court, that your Majesty is at last resolved to remove the Obstacles that have for some Time delayed the entire Accomplishment of our Union; since from the Confidence which your Majesty expresses towards me, I may look upon the Treaties, which have been in Question between us, as re-established; and that accordingly the Instruments necessary for the carrying on the Trade of my Subjects, will be delivered out. I do no longer ballance to assure your Majesty of my Readiness to satisfy you, with regard to your Demand touching the Restitution of *Gibraltar*, promising you

to make use of the first favourable Opportunity to regulate this Article with the Consent of my Parliament. And to give your Majesty a farther Proof of my Affection, I have ordered my Ambassador, as soon as the Negotiation with which he has been charged shall be finished, to propose to your Majesty new Engagements to be entered into, in Concert, and jointly with France, suitable to the present Conjuncture, not only for strengthening our Union, but also for securing the Tranquility of Europe : Your Majesty may be persuaded that I, on my Part, will shew all the Facility imaginable, promising myself that you will do the same, for the mutual Benefit of our Kingdoms, being most perfectly,

Sir, my Brother,

Your Majesty's good Brother,

June 1, 1721.

*To the King of Spain,
Monsieur, my Brother.*

GEORGE R.

The Reader may perceive from the above Letter, that there is no other Condition express'd, than his Majesty's obtaining the Consent of his Parliament, and that is express'd in such Terms as that his Catholic Majesty could have no doubt of his *Britannic* Majesty's obtaining it ; but we have never yet seen those who either advised or dictated this Letter called to any Account.

The Affairs of the *North*, together with the Charter granted by the Emperor to the *Ostend* Company, to the great Prejudice of the *British* and *Dutch* Commerce, made a considerable Noise this Session. Accordingly *February* the 7th, the Commons resolved to address his Majesty for Copies of such

such Memorials and Representations, as have been made to the Court of *Vienna*, concerning the Charter granted to the *Ostend* Company, with the Answers thereto. After which the Lord *Morpeth* moved, That another Address be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to direct Copies to be laid before the House of all such Memorials or Representations to his Majesty, from the Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, as did induce him to send the Squadron of Ships the last Year into the *Baltick*, at so great an Expence to this Kingdom.

This Question was very strongly supported by Mr. * *, who run out upon the ridiculous Expences they had been at, from the idle Fears which our Government then entertained of the Empress of *Russia*, and expatiated mightily upon the Unreasonableness of sending these Fleets at a Conjunction when they could be serviceable for nothing, but to protect *Bremen* and *Verden*, and the other *Hanoverian* Acquisitions. If the Reader compares this way of Reasoning with some Facts that have since happened, he would be amazed to find the same Man earnest for impeaching the Ministry for being at the Expence of sending a few Ships to the *Baltick*, the Charges of which were by no Means lost to the Nation, and yet voting strenuously for our sending near 40,000 Land Forces for the very same Purpose at an immense Charge, every Shilling of which is Loss to *England*. The Question, however, being put upon my Lord *Morpeth's* Motion, it pass'd in the Negative, by 196 Voices, against 79. So inconsiderable as yet were the Country Party.

As the Preservation of *Hanover* was the sole Motive of our dipping into Foreign Engagements as we then did, so the Country Party seized every Opportunity of exposing this Motive to the Eyes of the Public. Accordingly, when 12,000 *Hessian*

Troops were taken into Pay, Mr. * * was one of the first who roar'd out against it, as an *Hanoverian* Measure, apparently without foreseeing the Time would come, that he would vote for 22,000 *Hanoverians* and *Hessians* for the very same Purposes, and at a much greater Expence.

In the Accounts of this Year, there being an Article of the Sum of 125,000 *l.* charged in general Terms, as issued out for other Engagements and Expences, over and above such as are therein particularly specified; upon which our Patriot, and his Friends, strenuously insisted, that before the said Account of the Deficiency of the last Year's Grants was referred to the Grand Committee, (which Reference, according to the Usage of Parliaments, tacitly implies an Acquiescence in the Disposal of the Money therein mentioned,) the House should be acquainted with the particular Disposition of so considerable a Sum as 125,000 *l.* But all Motions on this were over-ruled by putting the previous Question; however Mr. * * and his Friends, who knew that this was so unparliamentary a way of proceeding, that the Court would not care to push it, or stand by the Resolution, renewed the Attack; and it was moved and resolved, without dividing, to address his Majesty for a particular and distinct Account of the Distribution of the Sum of 125,000 *l.* which in an Account laid before the House, shewing how the Money given for the Year 1726 has been disposed of, is charged to have been issued for other Engagements and Expences, over and above such as are therein particularly specified for the securing the Trade of this Kingdom, and preserving the Peace of *Europe*; and also of the Times when the said Sum of 125,000 *l.* was issued and distributed.

Some Days after, Sir *Paul Methuen* reported to the House, that their Address of the 14th Instant, (*viz.* That his Majesty would be graciously pleased

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to direct the proper Officers to lay before this House a particular and distinct Account of the Distribution of the Sum of 125,000 *l.* which in an Account laid before this House, shewing how the Money given for the Year 1726, has been disposed of, is charged to have been issued for other Engagements and Expences, over and above such as are therein particularly specified, for the securing the Trade of this Kingdom, and preserving the Peace of *Europe*, and of the Time or Times when the said Sum of 125000 *l.* was issued and distributed,) had been presented to his Majesty ; and that his Majesty had commanded him to acquaint this House, that the Sum of Money mentioned in this Address has been issued and disbursed pursuant to the Power given to his Majesty by Parliament, for necessary Services and Engagements of the utmost Importance to the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom, and the Tranquillity of *Europe*, and which require the greatest Secrecy ; and therefore a particular and distinct Account of the Distribution of it cannot possibly be given without a manifest Prejudice to the Public.

Thereupon Mr. * * endeavour'd to shew the Insufficiency of that Answer, alledging that he had an entire Confidence in his Majesty's great Wisdom, paternal Care, and Royal Word ; but that, when in the last Session the House came to a Resolution effectually to provide for, and make good all such Expences and Engagements as should be made for the Security of the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom, and for the Preservation of the Peace of *Europe*, the Commons did not thereby divest themselves of their undoubted Right of being acquainted with the Disposition of public Money ; that if they gave up so essential a Right, that House would become altogether useless, or serve only blindly to approve of, and register the Acts and Deeds of the Ministers. That he did not in the
least

least doubt the Issuing and Disbursements of the 125,000 *l.* in Question for necessary Services : But that, if they were satisfied with such a general Account, the same might in future Reigns prove a very dangerous Precedent, and serve to cover Embezzlements of the public Treasure ; therefore he mov'd, that a farther humble Address be made to his Majesty, humbly representing the indisputable Right of this House to have particular and distinct Accounts laid before them of the Disposition of all Money granted by this House for the Service of the Public ; and this House did most earnestly beseech his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to order such an Account of the 125,000 *l.* laid to be expended for securing the Trade of this Kindom, and preserving the Peace of *Europe*, to be forthwith laid before the House.

The Courtiers in Answer to this Motion represented, That the Sum in Question was inconsiderable, and that it was impossible effectually to carry on important Negotiations without expending a great deal of Money in secret Service ; and Mr. *St. John Broderick* mentioned in particular a Case in Queen *Anne's* Reign, when the Commons acquiesced in such a general Answer, for a more considerable Sum. The Precedent by him quoted was read by the Clerk as follows, *viz.*

On the 16th of *January*, 1710-11, Mr. Secretary *St. John* acquainted the Commons that their Addresses of the 5th and 8th Instant had been presented to her Majesty, “ That she would be pleased to give Direction to the proper Officers to
 “ lay before the House Accounts relating to the
 “ Poundage and Day's Pay, deducted out of the
 “ Pay of the Army ; of the Deficiencies of the
 “ Grants and of the Funds since *Michaelmas* 1701 ;
 “ of the Payment of her Majesty's Proportion of
 “ Subsidies to her Allies ; and of all the Pensions
 “ payable out of the Revenue and Warrants, and
 “ Directions

“ Directions for Pensions ; and also of the Dis-
 “ tributions of the Contingencies, and Forage and
 “ Waggon-Money, granted for the Forces in *Flan-*
 “ *ders* in her Majesty’s Pay, and of the Distribu-
 “ tions of the Money granted for Contingencies
 “ of the Guard, Garrisons, and Land-Forces in
 “ *Great Britain* : And that her Majesty had been
 “ pleased to give Directions for laying all the said
 “ Accounts before this House, except the Accounts
 “ of Contingencies, and the Account touching the
 “ Deficiencies of the Grants and Funds had al-
 “ ready been laid before the House : And that
 “ other of the Accounts were preparing, and would
 “ soon be laid before the House ; but that as to
 “ the Account of Contingencies, it was not pos-
 “ sible from the Nature of the Service, which re-
 “ quired the utmost Secrecy, for an Account of
 “ them to be made ; but that they were really dis-
 “ tributed.”

Some Objections were raised to this Precedent,
 as if the Case was not parallel : Besides which, Mr.
Onslow chiefly insisted on the Promise made to the
 House the last Session, by a great Man in the Ad-
 ministration, that they should have a particular Ac-
 count of all the Money that should be expended
 upon the Vote of Credit, which Promise induced
 the House to come so readily into it. They were
 answered by Sir *William Strickland*, Mr. *Trelawny*,
 Mr. *Conduit*, and Sir *Robert Walpole* : To whom
 Sir *Thomas Hanmer* replied. After which the Ques-
 tion upon Mr. * *’s Motion being called for, it
 was carried in the Negative by 235 Voices against
 110. Then it was moved and resolved without
 dividing, That an humble Address be presented to
 his Majesty, to return his Majesty the Thanks of
 this House for his great Care and Wisdom in tak-
 ing such Steps, and entering into such Engage-
 ments, as his Majesty thought would best conduce
 to the Security of the Trade and Navigation of this
 Kingdom,

Kingdom, and to the Preservation of the Peace of *Europe*; and to assure his Majesty that this House, placing an entire Confidence in his Majesty's Goodness and Regard for the Interest of his People, will stand by and support his Majesty in all such further Measures as his Majesty shall find necessary and expedient for preventing a Rupture, and for the Honour and Advantages of these Kingdoms.

Parliamentary Addresses to the Crown are to be extremely well consider'd before they are agreed to : There is no manner of Doubt, that some Part of the Operations of every Government require to be conceal'd from the Eye of the Public; therefore a House of Commons should be exceedingly careful how they address for any Thing which may publish those Measures, that in their own Nature require Secrecy : But on the other hand, the Business of a Court, and that of a Parliament, may be very different. A Court may circumscribe the Objects of parliamentary Enquiry within so narrow a Compass, as to leave it very little Power besides that of granting the Money which is demanded of it. But an honest Parliament will ever make themselves Judges of Measures, even after they are executed; because it is from the Fitness or Unfitness of these Measures only, that they can judge of the Capacity or Incapacity, the Virtues or the Vices of their several Agents : At the same Time we are to consider, that tho' Inconveniencies may arise from a Court's laying before the Parliament all the Papers relating to Negotiations, which require in their own Nature to be secret; yet these Inconveniencies are but inconsiderable, when compar'd to that which arises from the Disregard shewn to a Parliamentary Address, when the Subject of it is not complied with : Because it is still to be presum'd, that the Parliament had foreseen and guarded against all bad Consequences that could possibly attend the Papers being communicated; and the Precedent of a Refusal

fusal to comply with a Parliamentary Address, however speciously that Refusal is colour'd, may draw on the Practice of the Crown's refusing to communicate *any* Papers upon such Addresses. Besides, we are to consider the Parliament as his Majesty's great Council, and all other Councils as subordinate to it; therefore a Parliament, in calling for Papers, exercises no other Power than that of taking the Business out of the Hands of their Substitutes into their own. But still it may be said, that the Negotiations betwixt his Majesty and foreign States may be of such a Nature, as that the least Discovery of any Part of them may blast all their Effects, and lose us the Confidence of foreign Powers. To this it is readily answer'd, That as the Parliament is his Majesty's great Council, they are met to consider upon the Affairs of the Nation which come before them, either arising from their own Rights, or as communicated to them by his Majesty. If they are communicated by his Majesty, it is always to be presumed, that when there is any thing peculiar as to Secrecy in them, which may be detrimental to the Nation if divulg'd, that the House will be previously acquainted therewith in general Terms, that it may be upon its Guard. In such Cases the House always chuses by Ballot, or otherwise a Secret Committee, who are as much upon Oath not to divulge or publish any of the Contents of what is laid before them, as the Privy Council or the Cabinet Council is: So that in any Event it has been ever deem'd a Stretch of the Privilege to refuse to communicate Papers upon a parliamentary Address.

It was no Wonder, therefore, if Mr. * * made a very violent Use of these Arguments upon this Occasion, and if he acquir'd great Strength and Credit both to himself and his Party by always distressing the Court upon a Question in which he had so visible a Superiority of Argument: And yet I

will venture to say, that since he and his Friends came into Power, they have defeated as many Motions for Addresses, in proportion to the Shortness of their Continuance in it, as ever their Predecessors did ; and that we have seen, during that Time, more dissatisfactory Answers to Addresses from the House of Commons come from the Crown, than ever came during all the long Administration which they then opposed ; and those Answers pass unobserv'd or excus'd by them, when animadverted upon by others.

A very extraordinary Affair happen'd this Session : On *Feb. 15*, a Petition of *George Townshend* and others, late Commissioners for licensing Hawkers, &c. was presented to the House and read, praying, “ That Leave may be given to bring in a Bill to enable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty’s Treasury to compound with the Petitioners for a Debt due to the Crown, occasion’d by the Default of *Thomas Tomkins*, late Cashier of the said Office, who hath withdrawn himself beyond the Seas, or that they may have such other Relief as to the House shall seem meet.” Sir *Robert Walpole* having acquainted the House, that his Majesty gave his Consent, that such a Bill might be brought into the House, as was desired by the Petitioners, the said Petition was referred to a Committee of the whole House. *Feb. 28*, in a Committee of the whole House they examin’d the Allegations of the Petition of the late Commissioners for licensing Hawkers and Pedlars, and also the Papers annexed to it, and likewise call’d in and examin’d several of the Persons order’d by the House to attend the said Committee, and came to several Resolutions, the Report whereof was put off till the 7th of *March*. Mr. * * upon this Occasion run out into very severe, and some thought very indecent Reflections, upon the Neglect and Mismanagement of the Revenue.

March

March 7, Mr. Farrer reported from the Committee of the whole House, to whom the Petition of *George Townshend, &c.* late Commissioners for licensing Hawkers, &c. had been referred, the Resolutions they had directed him to report, which were as follow, viz. “ 1. That it appears to this Committee, that no Money was paid into his Majesty’s Exchequer on Account of the Duties upon Hawkers and Pedlars from *Midsummer* 1719 to *Midsummer* 1723, except 1500*l.* although the Commissioners for managing the said Revenue are requir’d, by Act of Parliament, to pay all the Money arising by the said Duties into the Exchequer, once every Week. 2. That it appears to this Committee, that by reason of the loose, careless, and neglectful Management of the late Commissioners for the Duties upon Hawkers and Pedlars, there is a Deficiency of 36,693*l.* 13*s.* 5*d.* over and above 600*l.* which has been paid by the Securities of *Thomas Tomkins*, late Cashier to the said Commissioners.”

The said Resolutions being severally read a second time, were, upon the Question severally put thereupon, agreed to by the House: After which, Sir *William Wyndham* took notice of the Neglect of those who were a Check on the Managers of that Branch of the public Revenue; and who, therefore, ought in time to have call’d upon them for the Money that pass’d thro’ their Hands, according to the Direction of the Act of Parliament. That it might be said, that they were even more guilty than the Commissioners of Hawkers and Pedlars themselves; since they not only had connived for four Years at the Embezzlement of the public Money, but had for three Years more neglected to recover the same, and seem’d at last to have encourag’d a Petition to the House to have it remitted; and that the granting such a Petition would be giving a parliamentary Sanction to such vile Practices,

and opening wide a Door for the like Mismanagements of the public Treasure. He was seconded by Mr. * *, who animadverted very severely on the Neglect of the Commissioners of the Treasury, whose Office and Duty it was to have call'd the Petitioners to Account. Hereupon Sir *William Yonge* endeavour'd to excuse the present Administration, the Failure of the Cashire of the Commissioners of Hawkers and Pedlars, which had occasion'd the Deficiency in question, having happen'd before their Time; and the Multiplicity of arduous, important, and intricate Affairs, that fell out since, having so taken up the Attention of the Managers of the Treasury, that it was no Wonder if so considerable a Branch of the Revenue had escap'd their Notice. And then moved, "That the Petition of the late Commissioners of Hawkers and Pedlars be rejected;" which was carried without dividing.

Mr. * * however impatient under the Defeat of a Motion so reasonable in itself, that the rejecting of it seem'd to defeat all the Power of Parliament, renew'd the Charge with great Vigour, inveighing against the Audaciousness of some Persons, who by their corrupt Management thought themselves so powerful and secure, as to dare to screen the greatest Offenders. To which an eminent Member reply'd, That he could not help reflecting on the Envy and Rancour of some Men, who made it their constant Business to thwart and revile those who had the Honour to have a Share in the Administration; and who, not satisfied with shewing their Malignity within those Walls, shot likewise their Poison in the dark, and scatter'd it under Allegories in vile Libels. To prevent farther Altercation, the Courtiers call'd for the Order of the Day, and the Question being put thereon, it was carried in the Affirmative, by 248 Voices against 124.

The Reflection thrown out by the eminent Member abovemention'd, was owing to the Noise which
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Political Writings, of which Mr. * * was thought to be the Patron, began to make at this Time. Mr. * * said, That by the same Rule which this Member could prove the Paper he hinted at to be libellous, he could prove that the Scripture spoke Blasphemy ; for, continued he, there is a Passage in Scripture which says *there is no God*, which, no doubt, is Blasphemy, unless we take Notice at the same time that it was *the Fool* who said it, pointing full on the honourable Member. And yet how must the Reader be astonish'd, when he hears, that the same Person no sooner came into Power, than he denounc'd Fire and Fury upon all public Writings against himself and the Government!

In *April* 26, when the House was in a grand Committee to consider of *Ways and Means*, Sir *William Yonge* moved, “ That towards raising the
 ‘ Supply granted his Majesty, the Sum of 370,000*l.*
 ‘ be raised by Loans, or by Exchequer Bills, to be
 ‘ charg’d on the Surplusses arisen, or to arise, from
 ‘ and after *Michaelmas* 1726, for the Duties on Coals
 ‘ and Culm, granted by an Act of the 5th Year of
 ‘ his Majesty’s Reign from the 29th of *Sept.* 1725, to
 ‘ *Lady-day* 1751, and by a subsequent Act of the
 ‘ 6th Year of his Majesty’s Reign made perpetual,
 ‘ and which are reserved for the Disposition of Par-
 ‘ liament.” This Motion, tho’ powerfully seconded, was vigorously objected to by Mr. * *, who said, that by several Votes and Acts of Parliament, all the Exceedings or Surplusses of Public Funds were to be applied towards the lessening of the Public Debts, or to the Increase of the Sinking Fund ; and that this Disposition could not be alter’d without wounding the public Credit, which was already extreme low, since the taking off any Part of the Mortgage could not but lessen the Security of Debt: That it was somewhat strange such a Motion shou’d be made by those very Persons who had the Honour of being in the Administration, who could
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not have forgot what his Majesty so strongly recommended from the Throne at the Opening of this Session, “ That the Produce of the Sinking Fund
 “ might be immediately applied to the Uses for
 “ which it was so wisely contrived, and to which it
 “ now stands appropriated.” And that this Motion was still the more surprizing, after the large Vote of Credit the House had so lately come to. Notwithstanding his Reasons, the Motion was carried in the Affirmative.

Towards the Beginning of the next Session of Parliament, which sat down on *June 27, 1727*, and was the first Session under his present Majesty, Sir *Robert Walpole* represented, That the annual Sum of 700,000 *l.* granted to, and settled on the late King, for the Support of his Household, and of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, falling short every Year, they had been obliged to make it up another Way : And that his present Majesty’s necessary Expences being like to increase by reason of the Largeness of his Family, and of settling a Household for his Royal Consort, he therefore moved, “ That the entire Revenues of
 ‘ the Civil List, which produced about 100,000 *l.*
 ‘ *per Annum* above the said yearly Sum of 700,000 *l.*
 ‘ might be settled on his Majesty during Life.” No Opposition being made to this Motion by our Patriot, it gave the World very strong Reasons for believing that his Opposition was suspended till such time as he should know whether the Royal Pulse beat in his Favour or not. This Conjecture was confirm’d by his not opposing the doubling of the Queen’s Dowry, which pass’d unanimously.

But all his Hopes of Reconciliation and Re-admission to Power failing before the Commencement of next Parliament, he signaliz’d himself in his opposing the keeping of 12,000 *Hessians* in the Pay of *Great Britain*, and objected, that by the said Treaty the contracting Parties were not obliged to furnish the Succours stipulated therein,
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but within two Months after Requisition ; and that even in such a Case *Great Britain* was only to furnish Men of War or Transport-Ships, or even Subsidies of Money, at the Choice of the Party requiring said Succours. But the Question being put, was carried in the Affirmative, by 280 Votes against 84 : So very inconsiderable was the Minority at the Commencement of this Parliament.

February 23d, the Commons, in a Committee on the Supply, came, *inter alia*, to the following Resolution, *viz.* “ That 1,750,000 *l.* be raised by
 ‘ Grant or Sale to the Bank of *England* of Annuities
 ‘ not exceeding 70,000 *l.* *per Annum*, being after
 ‘ the Rate of 4*l.* *per Cent. per Ann.* redeemable by
 ‘ Parliament, to commence from the 24th of *June*
 ‘ 1728, and to be charg’d on the Duties on Coals
 ‘ and Culm.” Hereupon Mr. ** observ’d, That the shifting of Funds was but the perpetuating of Taxes, and putting off the evil Day ; and that notwithstanding the great Merit that some had built on the Sinking Fund, it appeared that the National Debt had been increased since the setting up of that pompous Project. Upon which Sir *Nathaniel Gould*, an eminent Merchant, said, he apprehended that Gentleman had his Notions out of a Treatise, entitled, *A State of the National Debt*, &c. supposed to be written by that very Gentleman : But that if he understood any thing, it was Numbers ; and he durst pawn his Credit and Reputation to prove that Author’s Calculations and Inferences to be false and erroneous. To this Mr. ** replied, That he took them to be right, and he would likewise pawn his Credit and Reputation to make good his Assertion. Upon this Sir *Robert Walpole* took up the Cudgels, and said, he would maintain what Sir *Nathaniel Gould* had advanced. Several warm Expressions having past on both Sides, Mr. *Hungerford* interpos’d, in a jocular Speech, that put the House in good Humour, and so the Dispute ended.

February

February 29, Sir *Paul Metbuen* reported to the House, That their Address for a particular and distinct Account of the Sum of 250,000 *l. &c.* had been presented to his Majesty, and that his Majesty had commanded him to acquaint the House, that the late King, his Majesty's Royal Father, having the like Occasion, received from the last Parliament the most dutiful Acknowledgments of his great Care and Wisdom, in taking such Steps, and entering into such Engagements, as he thought wou'd best conduce to the Security of this Kingdom, and the Preservation of the Peace of *Europe*; and at the same time the strongest Assurances of their future Support, in all such further Measures as he should find necessary and expedient for preventing a Rupture, and for the Honour and Advantages of those Kingdoms: And a Power being accordingly given by Parliament to his late Majesty, for issuing and applying such Sums of Money as he should find necessary, for answering and defraying such Expences and Engagements, as had been, or shou'd be made, for these great and necessary Purposes; some Part of the Money mention'd in this Address had been issued and disbursed by his late Majesty; and the remaining Part had been applied by his present Majesty for carrying on the same necessary Services; for strengthening his Alliances, and in fulfilling Engagements of the utmost Importance to these Kingdoms, and to the general Tranquility of *Europe*, and which require the greatest Secrecy. His Majesty therefore hopes that this House will repose the same Confidence in him; and be assured, that the Money has been necessarily expended, pursuant to the Power given by Act of Parliament, and for the Uses and Purposes therein directed; and that a particular and distinct Account thereof cannot be given, without manifest Prejudice to the Public.

Upon this Mr. * * rais'd several weighty Objections against such a vague and general Way of accounting

accounting for Public Money, as tending to render Parliaments altogether insignificant and useless ; to cover Embezzlements, and to screen corrupt and rapacious Ministers ; urging the Increase of the National Debt, notwithstanding the so much-boasted Sinking Fund, and insisting on having that important Affair immediately debated in a grand Committee ; but the Court-Party waved it, by moving to adjourn the House to the 4th of *March*, which, after some Debate, was carried in the Affirmative, by 202 Votes against 66.

The Reader may here perceive from the great Majority, how much Mr. * * thought it his Duty as an Opposition-Man to oppose, under all Discouragements : But indeed the not accounting for Money granted to the Crown by Parliament, arises from its not being appropriated to particular Uses, which, if it is not, can only be owing to one of these two Reasons, *viz.* An unbounded Confidence in the Virtue and Integrity of the Ministry ; or the Unfitness of specifying the particular Services to which the Money is applied, lest the Discovery of them should be a Discouragement to the Public Service. The first is a Reason that will hold with all corrupted Parliaments : But if the second is a good Reason for granting Money without Appropriation, it, at the same time, unanswerably holds as a good Argument why such Money ought not to be accounted for when expended. The Reason is plain, for if it is politically wise, not to discover private Service before such Money is granted, it is equally so after it is expended. The Effects of the Service may be disappointed by the Discovery of the Application, and that Discovery may further render it impracticable for any Government ever to reap, for the future, any Advantage from that Service. Therefore, if we admit it right to grant Money without appropriating it, we must admit it to be right not to subject that Money to any Account. But our Patriot

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seems, even in the Gall and Vinegar of his Opposition, to have had it in his Eye, that a Time might come, when it would be extremely convenient that the Parliament should grant Money without any appropriating Clause ; in which Case he knew, from the Nature of Business, that it never would be accounted for. Therefore, tho' we find him frequently distinguishing himself in calling upon the Ministry to account for Money that had been granted without any appropriating Clause, we find that he very seldom or never opposed such a Grant, which, as we have seen, was the only Way to strike at the Root of the Evil. Accordingly, he and his Friends seem to have been perfectly sensible of the Force of this Observation, since they came into Power.

When the Resolutions of the grand Committee to consider the State of the National Debt were examin'd in *March* 4, 1728, a Motion was made, ' That it appears that the Monies already issued and ' applied towards discharging the National Debts ' incurr'd before *Christmas* 1716, together with the ' Sum of 220,435 *l.* 16 *s.* 4 *d.* which will be issued at *Lady-Day* 1728, towards discharging the ' said Debts, amount to 6,648,762 *l.* 5 *s.* 1 *d.* ' ' A great Debate arose upon this, and our Patriot and his Friends suggested in general, that notwithstanding the Supplies that were annually raised in the last Reign ; notwithstanding the great Sums of Money given from time to time for extraordinary Expences and Secret Service ; notwithstanding the Produce of the Sinking Fund ; yet the Public Debts, for the gradual Discharge of which that famous Project was said to be contrived, were rather increased than less'n'd ; and this in a Time of almost uninterrupted Peace and Tranquility : Which must be owing to a very profuse Management of the public Treasure ; and yielded but a very melancholly Prospect ; since, at this Rate, our Debts must still grow faster in Case of a War or public Troubles ; so that

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the heavy and numerous Taxes, that now lye upon the Nation, must be perpetuated to the latest Posterity. Then entering upon Particulars, they took notice of the Artifice with which the Accounts that lay before them were drawn up : That in order to swell that of the Sums said to have been issued and applied towards the Discharge of the Public Debts, incurr'd before *Christmas* 1716, there were added to it above three Millions, for the advanc'd Price given in the Year 1720, in order to make the Irredeemables redeemable, which could not properly be called Payment of those Debts ; whereas, on the other hand, in the Account of the present National Debt, or of the Increase of that Debt since *Christmas* 1716, several large Sums were omitted, particularly one Million raised upon the Civil List, and several Deficiencies on the Land-Tax, Malt, and other Funds, which certainly still remain'd a Public Debt. Hereupon Sir *Robert Walpole*, having shew'd the Nature and State of the Public Debts, and the Operation and Efficacy of the Sinking Fund, strenuously maintain'd the Assertion contain'd in the Motion. The opposite Party perceiving that the Majority of the Committee were for the Motion, moved, ' That Mr. ' Speaker should resume the Chair : ' But, after some Debate, the Question being put upon this second Motion, it was carried in the Negative, by 250 Voices against 97.

The Reader will, no doubt, be surpriz'd to find Mr. * * fulfilling his own Prophecy, like the Soothsayer, who, after foretelling his own Death on such a Day, rather than be accounted a false Prophet, kill'd himself on the very Day. Mr. * *, possibly, at that Time, did not suspect that he was to be the very Person who was to exhibit the melancholly Prospect he foretold.

This Session was distinguish'd by many remarkable Debates upon the Public Funds, which at last ended in a Representation of the State of the National

tional Debt, the Sinking Fund, and the Public Credit. However melancholly all these were at the Time the Representation was made, and whatever good Grounds Mr. * * had to oppose that Representation, as it is worded, yet it is certain that all these Particulars were in a flourishing Condition, compar'd to that in which they have been since he had the Honour to have some Direction in them all.

May 17, a Motion being made, “ That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that he
 “ would be graciously pleased to give Directions,
 “ that the proper Officer do lay before this House,
 “ an Account of the Sale of Woods, and Grants of
 “ the Falls of Woods by his late Majesty, from
 “ *Christmas* 1715, to *June* 1, 1727 ; and how the
 “ same have been accounted for : ” It occasion'd a warm Debate, wherein Mr. * * urged, ‘ That thro’ the Connivance of some Men in favour with our late most gracious King, his Majesty’s Goodness had been abused in several Grants of considerable Falls of Wood, to the great Detriment and Waste of the Royal Forests, at a Time when the Nation stood in so great Need of Timber, for the repairing and building of Ships ; and therefore he thought it very proper for the House to enquire, by what Means the said Grants came to be obtain’d.’ He was answer’d by Sir *Robert Walpole*, who represented, ‘ That such an Enquiry might be injurious to the Memory of some Dead, and after all prove altogether unprofitable to the Living.’ Then the previous Question being put, That the Question be now put, it pass’d in the Negative.

The next Session of Parliament, which was in the Year 1728, was open’d by a very dubious Speech from the Crown, which exhibited a very odd kind of Prospect of the Affairs of *Europe* in general, and this Nation in particular. Upon which the Commons, being return’d to their House, and the Speaker having reported

ported it, Sir *George Oxenden* moved for an Address,
 “ To return his Majesty the Thanks of the House
 “ for his most gracious Speech ; to congratulate
 “ his Majesty upon the Arrival of the Prince of
 “ *Wales* ; to acknowledge his Majesty’s Good-
 “ ness and Wisdom in avoiding all Difficulties and
 “ Delays, by concerting the most expeditious Me-
 “ thods of concluding, with Honour and Justice, the
 “ Negotiations depending at *Soissons* ; to express
 “ their grateful Sense of his Majesty’s tender Regard
 “ for the Ease and Interest of his People, in declin-
 “ ing to plunge the Nation into greater and un-
 “ known Expences, as long as there is a Prospect
 “ of obtaining a safe and honourable Peace ; to as-
 “ sure his Majesty, that this House, fully convinc’d
 “ that his Majesty’s own Honour and the Honour
 “ of the Nation are above all things dear and pre-
 “ cious to him, entirely rely upon his Majesty to
 “ do himself and the Nation Justice, as soon as any
 “ proper Occasion shall call upon him for it, and
 “ to secure the Commerce of the Kingdom.”

Mr. * * and his Friends took great Exceptions at
 the Word *secure* our Commerce, and insisted on the
 Impropriety of the Expression, as if the Commerce
 of the Kingdom had been ruin’d ; and thought it
 much more proper to say *restore* our Commerce :
 To support their Opinion, they took notice of the
 many and great Losses sustain’d by the *British*
 Merchants, by the Depredations of the *Spaniards*
 both in *Europe* and the *West-Indies* ; not without
 reflecting on some Persons for not giving proper
 Orders to secure our Trade, to repress those Insults,
 and to make Reprizals according to the Law of Na-
 tions. This occasion’d a Debate upon the Ques-
 tion, Whether the Word *secure* should stand, or
 whether *restore* should be inserted instead of it. But
 the most memorable Part of this Debate was what
 happen’d when an eminent Courtier produced a
 Pamphlet, suppos’d to be wrote by a R—t R—d
 P—te,

P ———te, entitled, *Observations on the Conduct of Great-Britain, with regard to the Negotiations and other Transactions Abroad*, 1729, to justify the Conduct of *Great-Britain* with relation to the suppos'd Inactivity of our Squadrons, and the Depredations committed by the *Spaniards*; and with that View containing Abstracts of the Instructions given to Admiral *Hofier*, and the other Commanders of the *British* Squadrons. Mr. * * animadverted upon and exploded that Pamphlet, as made up of glaring Misrepresentations of Facts, Inconsistences and Contradictions: He urg'd, that the Author, by his bold launching into Politics, his pretending to be let in to the deepest Mysteries of State, and his publishing Part of the Instructions given to our Admirals, would be thought to write with Authority; yet it seem'd very extraordinary, and highly impropable, that an obscure and nameless Pamphleteer, should be favour'd with Papers of such Importance and private Nature: That therefore it was more reasonable to believe, that this Scribbler had surreptitiously procured these imperfect Lights and lame Abstracts from some of the Under-Clerks, which he printed with his own crude and indigested Observations, in order to curry Favour; for that it could not be suppos'd, that Men of so great Abilities, as they who are at the Head of our Affairs, should not know the Difference between the *Flotilla* and *Gal-leons*, or that they sail'd from two Ports at a very great Distance from each other. Mr. * * was back'd by Capt. *V——n*, Member for *Penryn*, who said, 'That he would not pretend to determine, whether those Scraps of Instructions, publish'd in the Pamphlet in question, were genuine or forg'd; but this he would venture to aver, That there were in them some Things so very odd and inconsistent, as gave them a very suspicious Aspect; or, if genuine, render'd them impracticable.' Hereupon Sir *Joseph Jekyll* said, 'That since the Courtiers so strenuously insisted

insisted on the Word *secure*, he would readily comply with them, provided a small Addition was made to the Address, to put them in mind of securing the Rights and Liberties of the People'. At last the Question being call'd for, and put, Whether the Word *secure* should stand, it was carried in the Affirmative, by 249 Votes against 87, and a Committee was appointed to draw up the said Address.

It may be worth while to observe here, that in the Course of the above Debate, Captain *V——n*, now Admiral *V——n*, took occasion to throw out a great many severe Reflections upon the Ministry's Instructions to Admiral *Hofier*; and, among other Things, he affirm'd, ' That it had been very easy for that Admiral to have brought the *Spaniards* to Reason, by demolishing *Porto Bello*.' Upon which, it was answer'd by a Gentleman of the same Profession, ' That the Force which Admiral *Hofier* had along with him, was insufficient for that Purpose; and that half the Royal Navy of *England* would be found too weak to destroy it.' Captain *V——n*, in answer to this, said in the House, ' That he would undertake, upon Pain of Death, to destroy it with *six Ships only*.' This Declaration was very much taken notice of at that Time, and the Courtiers look'd upon it as an impracticable Rhodomontade, which was remembred when that Admiral made his Word good; as we shall have Occasion to take notice of in its proper Place.

In the Debate this Year upon the Number of Land Forces, Mr. * * very warmly opposed the Continuance of the Army. This he did upon the Principles of the Revolution, establish'd upon the Bill of Rights. He observed, ' That during the late War, our Land Forces, together with those in our Pay, amounted to above 200,000 Men; the Load of which lyes heavy upon us: But after the Peace of *Utrecht*, there was a general Reduction, except about 12,000 Men: That upon the late King's Accession,

cession, when the Rebellion broke out in *Scotland* and *England*, the Army was indeed augmented with several Regiments, and other additional Troops ; but these were again reduc'd not long after : That in the Year 1727, upon the Prospect of the great Dangers, that were apprehended from the Treaty of *Vienna*, an Augmentation of about 8000 Men was moved for in the House, but the same was warmly opposed ; nor was it granted but upon Assurance that this Expence should cease, as soon as the extraordinary Occasion that call'd for it was over : That the Event has shewn, that most of these Dangers were groundless and chimerical, the Court of *Vienna* having readily agreed to Preliminaries, that have been look'd upon as a sufficient Foundation for a general Pacification.' He then proceeded to shew the Inconsistency of late Measures, the Greatness of the National Expence, and the Necessity of even a total Reduction of the Forces. But after all this, the Question was carried without any Division.

The Reader will, no doubt, be fond of comparing this way of Reasoning with those Circumstances which the Nation was in, when Mr. * * came into Power. A Man who reasons for or against the keeping up a large Body of Forces, upon temporary Measures, has it always in his Power to act with some Appearance of Consistency, should he afterwards change his Sentiments ; because he has nothing to do, but to deny that the same Reasons subsist, or do not subsist. But a Person who, as Mr. * * always did after this Period, maintains the Inconsistency of Standing Armies, with the Liberties of a People, upon general and fundamental Principles, puts it out of his own Power ever to be an Advocate for keeping up a large Body of Troops, but in Time of actual Invasion, or War.

Upon the same Day the Resolutions about the Army were reported and agreed to, Sir *George Oxenden*, from the Commissioners of the Navy laid before

fore the House, an Account of the Amount of the Interest-Money which had been paid for Navy and Victualling Bills, from the 25th of *December* 1721, to the 25th of *December* 1728. This gave Occasion to our Patriot to run mightily out in Observations upon the deplorable State of the Nation with regard to the Public Debts, and taking notice of the Report which had been presented to his Majesty about a Year before, concerning the State of the Public Funds, he said, ‘ That notwithstanding the boasted good OEconomy of the Government, it was very plain, that the Public Debts were so far from diminishing, that they increased every Year : He then took occasion to expatiate upon the Wisdom and OEconomy of raising all Public Funds within the Year, and the Impossibility of the Nation to subsist if the Government went on as it did some time before.’

To all this, the Courtiers answer’d, ‘ That the contrary plainly appear’d from the Produce of the Sinking Fund, by Means whereof the Supplies for this Year would be raised, without laying any new Taxes :’ Hereupon it was mov’d, ‘ That this House ‘ will raise the Supplies necessary for the current ‘ Service of this Year, without creating any new ‘ Debt upon any Fund whatsoever :’ But the Question being put thereupon, it pass’d in the Negative.

If one applies those Maxims of Frugality to some later Times, when the Nation is at an Expence of Ten Millions a Year, how will it sound when he hears that the same Person who preach’d up all this virtuous OEconomy, was one of the first who voted for our launching out into all that unnecessary Prodigality.

In this Sessions, an Account was laid before the House of Commons of the Subsidies paid by his Majesty to the King of *Sweden*, as Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, and to that high and mighty Potentate the Duke of *Wolsembutte*. As the Opposition

knew very well that these Engagements were enter'd into not with any View of serving *Great-Britain*, or contributing towards the Tranquility of *Europe*; and that the Alliances then subsisting betwixt his Majesty and other Powers were sufficient for both these Purposes, a Motion was made, “ That an
 “ humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to
 “ desire that this House may be informed, what
 “ Demands were made in behalf of the Crown of
 “ *Great Britain* to his Majesty's Allies, for Succours of Troops, Ships, or Money, which they
 “ were obliged to furnish in pursuance of Treaties,
 “ during the late Hostilities and Siege of *Gibraltar*,
 “ and in what manner the said Demands were comply'd with; or whether any Measures were settled or concerted between the Crown of *Great Britain* and its Allies, in order to carry on a general and vigorous War, in case the Project of Preliminary Articles of Peace, under Consideration during the Siege of *Gibraltar*, had not been accepted.” But the Question being put, it was carried in the Negative.

Two Days after, Mr. *Pelham* laid before the House a Copy of the Establishment of the *Hessian* Forces for the Year 1729; and then in a grand Committee, the Commons consider'd the Subsidies payable to foreign Princes. Mr. *Pelham*, Sir *William Yonge*, and some other Members, having shewn the Necessity of making good his Majesty's Engagements, which the Commons had made their own, by approving of them; Mr. * * said thereupon, ‘ He had so great a Regard for the King's Honour, that he would readily, at any time, give his Vote to enable his Majesty to answer and discharge his Engagements; but that at the same time, out of Regard to their Country whom they represented, and who labour'd under a heavy Load of Debts and Taxes, he thought it a Duty incumbent upon them, to retrench all superfluous Expences: That

That in relation to the Demand now before them, he would not enter upon the Enquiry, whether such a large Body of *Hessian* Auxiliaries was necessary at a Time of perfect Tranquillity, at least, of Inaction; but he begg'd Leave to observe, that the Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel* used to keep 7000 Men constantly in his Pay; and as he had only added 5000 Men to make up the 12,000 which he was to furnish to the Allies of *Hanover*, it seem'd but reasonable that *Great Britain* should pay for no more than those 5000 additional Troops; adding, that the same might be said with respect to the Duke of *Wolfembuttel*, who, notwithstanding the Subsidy he received from *Great Britain*, maintained no more Troops than he did before.' Hereupon the Minister endeavour'd to justify the Measures that had been taken in consequence of the *Hanover* Alliance, and in particular to shew how useful this Body of 12000 *Hessians* had been towards preventing the kindling of a War, for which the Court of *Vienna*, with the Assistance of *Spanish* Subsidies, had made great Preparations, and in order thereto had retained Troops of three Electors, besides the Augmentation of its own; adding, that for his Part, he was fully convinc'd, that had it not been for the *Hessians*, the Emperor would not have come into the Preliminaries and other pacific Measures; and therefore they ought not to grudge an Expence which had already prov'd so beneficial to the Tranquillity of *Europe*. But to this our Patriot and his Friends reply'd, ' That whatever Glori might be put upon such Measures, yet, in their Opinion, they were repugnant to the constant Maxims by which *England* in former Times steer'd and Iquar'd its Conduct, with relation to its Interest Abroad: ' That when our glorious Ancestors had any Quarrels with their Neighbours, they bravely fought them until they either beat them into a Peace, or forced them to buy it, of which there were many

‘ Instances in History : That our Navy is our natural Strength ; and, if well manag’d, our best Defence and Security : But if, in order to avoid a War, we are so condescending and so free-hearted as to buy and maintain the Forces of foreign Princes, we are never like to see an End of such extravagant Expences.’

The Reader will perceive, how very applicable this way of Reasoning is to some late Events, in which, instead of 12,000 Men, near 30,000 have been taken into Pay, for Reasons less justifiable and less affecting the Interest and Honour of *Great Britain*, than those which serv’d for a Pretext of keeping up those *Hessians* : But notwithstanding this unconstitutional and unfrugal Measure was attended with great Expence to the Nation, yet it was attended at the same time with this good Consequence, that it was the first Thing which open’d the Eyes of the Public, to perceive the great Scheme, which has since been so constantly and invariably pursued, I mean, supporting the Interest of certain foreign Dominions : It was this likewise that open’d all the great Field of Debate, which has since prov’d so applicable to the ruinous Step of engaging in a Land War in *Germany* on the same Account ; and we may venture to challenge our Patriot and his Friends, to produce one single Period of all their Speeches and Writings against the *Hessian* Troops, at this Time, that will not equally serve as Arguments against the Measures which they themselves have concerted and approved of.

February 10, It was resolv’d to address his Majesty, “ That whenever it shall be necessary to take
“ any foreign Troops into his Service, he will be
“ graciously pleas’d to use his Endeavours, that
“ they be cloath’d with the Manufacture of *Great Britain*.”

This Motion was, no doubt, extremely reasonable, as it tended to consume a great deal of the *British*

tish Manufactures, for which we must otherwise have paid Money. The Savings to the Nation in the Year, in which this Address was made, were but inconsiderable, in comparison of what they would have been, had an Address of the same Nature been comply'd with, which was presented since Mr. * * and his Friends came into Power. But tho' we saw such an Address presented, yet the Answer, which absolutely eluded the Purpose of the Address, was vindicated and defended, by those very Persons, who cry'd so much out in former Times against such Answers to Addresses so reasonable in themselves, and so nearly affecting the Interests of the Nation.

The Deficiencies of the Civil List this Year happening to be very great, it was moved by the Commons, after having had the proper Accounts laid before the House, ' That the Sum of 115,000*l.* be granted to his Majesty, upon Account of the Arrears of his Civil List Revenues, to be replaced and refunded for the Use and Benefit of the Public, out of such Arrears of the said Revenues as shall be standing out at his Majesty's Demise, and together with the said Sum of 115,000*l.* shall be more than sufficient to make up the Produce of the said Revenues 800,000*l. per Annum*, during his Majesty's Life, to be computed from the 25th of June, 1727.'

Tho' the Design of this Motion was easily apprehended, yet many Members express'd their Surprise, that it should be made so late in the Session, and after the Recess of *Easter*; and when it was generally understood that there was no further Demand of Money to be made, since it related to an Account, said, by the Member who made the Motion, to have been closed at *Midsummer* 1728, and consequently proper in every respect, if at all, to have been brought in very early in the Session, and to have been consider'd in a full House; and this Motion

Motion appear'd to them the more extraordinary, because, in the former Session, the several Duties and Revenues granted by the Act for the better Support of his Majesty's Household, and of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, were understood, and appear'd by the Accounts then before the House to produce yearly much above the Sum of 800,000 *l.* for which they were given ; and therefore the said Motion was vigorously oppos'd by Mr. * *, and other Members, who mov'd, ' That these Accounts
' and Papers should be referr'd to a Select Committee, with Power to send for such other Accounts,
' and to call before them and examine such Officers
' of the Revenue as they judg'd necessary ; and then
' to report to the House a true State of the Facts,
' and whether it did appear to them, that there really was such a Deficiency in the Produce of the
' Civil List Revenues.' But this was oppos'd by Sir *Robert Walpole* and Mr. *Scroope*, who had deliver'd in their Accounts ; and the Question being put, upon Mr. * * Motion, it pass'd in the Negative. Then it was mov'd by the Country Party,
' That this Affair might be consider'd in a full
' House, and that, for that Purpose, all Leaves of
' Absence might be revoked, and the Members
' summoned to attend ;' which having also pass'd in the Negative, the Question was put upon Mr. *Scroope's* Motion, which was carried in the Affirmative, by 241 Voices against 115.

The Reader, from the Debate which our Hero manag'd upon this Question, may speedily have an Opportunity, from a like pretended Deficiency, to compare his Conduct upon a future Occasion.

A Bill this Session having pass'd the Commons, (the Bill for the more effectual preventing Bribery and Corruption in Election of Members,) which Bill the Lords sent back to the Commons, with some Amendments, to enforce that Law, by increasing

creasing the Penalty of 50 *l.* to 500 *l.* and adding other Clauses.

The Commons having taken these Amendments into Consideration, some of the Courtiers represented, ‘ That the Lords making Alterations in a Bill of this Nature, was an Encroachment upon the Rights and Privileges of the House of Commons, who were the sole Judges of the Merits of the Elections of their own Members.’ To this Mr. * * answer’d, ‘ That the Freedom of Parliament is essentially necessary to the Preservation of our ancient Constitution ; and the Freedom of parliamentary Elections to the most valuable Branch of the Rights and Liberties of *Englishmen*, of which the Lords are the proper Guardians, as well as the Commons, both as a Part of the Legislature, and as the Supreme Court of the Kingdom : That the Freedom of Elections, and consequently of Parliaments, is the great Bulwark of popular Liberty, against the Encroachments and Oppressions of arbitrary Power and wicked Ministers : That if ever this Bulwark should be thrown down by Force, or undermined by Corruption, the very Essence of our excellent Constitution would be lost, and we should no longer be a free People : And therefore no Man who had any Sense of, or Value for Liberty, could either think the Penalties against Corruption too severe, or grudge the Lords the Honour of having made the Provisions of this necessary Law more efficacious.’ Then the Question being put for agreeing to the Amendment by the Lords, it was carried in the Affirmative by two Voices only, *viz.* 91 to 89.

It has generally been agreed upon by all Lovers of their Country, that it is impossible that the Constitution of this Nation should ever be secured but by preventing the Bribery and Corruption to which it is but too subject, thro’ the great Power which the Revenues of a Crown give to a Ministry. It is no Wonder then, that the Opposition always find their

their Account of Popularity in pushing Bills of this Nature. But unless there is some Safety against the Corruption of the *Elected*, as well as that of the *Electors*, the Nation must be in a very deplorable Situation. The Penalties upon the *Electors* are easily avoided, by the Manner in which the Corruption may be convey'd; but the Prevention of Corruption in the *Elected* is more easy, since every one sees how far the Influence of the Crown extends over a Member of Parliament, by the Place and Pension he possesses under it. Add to this, that a Minister will never think it worth his Pains to bribe 2 or 300,000 People, when he can do his Business more effectually by bribing 2 or 300. Upon the whole then, all Acts against Bribery and Corruption, are but so many Farces, if Corruption of every kind is not guarded against. How far Mr. * * and his Friends were sincere in the loud Declamations they made against Corruption, we shall have an Opportunity of examining, when we see them, after they have got into Power, throwing out those very popular Bills, which they so earnestly contended for when out of Power, without giving any other Reason, than that *they* were much safer to be trusted than *their Predecessors*.

The next Session of Parliament, which was in the Year 1730, was open'd by the King's declaring, " That he had concluded an absolute Peace with " *Spain*, and that he had order'd a Reduction both " of the Sea and Land Forces." But on the 28th of the same Month, the Court moved for continuing near 18,000 Men upon the Establishment; which gave our Patriot an Opportunity of again exerting himself against the Standing Army. Upon this Occasion he had great Advantages. A Peace had been just declared with *Spain*: If that Peace was a firm one, as the Courtiers insisted it was, and the King declared it to be, then what Occasion was there for so great a Number of Land Forces? So that

that the voting for this Number in the Time of profound Peace, was, in effect, declaring that the Nation must always be saddled with this Number. He said, ‘ He could see many Reasons for a Conduct of this kind : That he had personal Opportunities of knowing some of them : That he knew there was not a public Office in the Kingdom, whose Perquisites were not greatly increas’d by increasing the Expences of the Nation : That while he himself was Secretary at War, there were great Emoluments arising from the Army, and almost irresistible Jobbs to be got every Day, by continuing a large Body of Land Forces.’ This last Observation was look’d upon as an oblique Hint at the Rt. Hon. Person who made the Motion, and who then happen’d to be Secretary at War ; and with whom he has since acted so warmly in concert.

In this Session of Parliament, when the Treaty of *Seville* came to be more closely examin’d, it appear’d to be extremely weak and unprofitable for the Uses it was pretended to serve. The Minister had wrote a Pamphlet, intitled, *Observations on the Treaty of Seville*, which was penn’d with an uncommon Air of Triumph. The Title-Page contained a Description of Envy, from *Ovid*, viewing a happy State, and concluded with the famous Line

Vixque tenet Lachrymas, quia nil Lachrymabile cernit.

In this Pamphlet he pretended to shew the advantageous Bargain we had made with *Spain*, by stipulating, ‘ That the Claims of our Merchants should be discuss’d by Commissaries appointed by both Courts : That our *South Sea* Trade should be regulated, and all Differences betwixt us and *Spain* made up by a certain Time. And he likewise endeavour’d to shew, how well the Peace of *Europe* was consulted, by the Provision in favour of Don

H

Charles,

Carlos, and the Introduction of *Spanish* instead of neutral Troops into *Tuscany*.

Our Patriot, together with his Friend the late Lord B ——— *ke*, took this Pamphlet into Pieces. They shew'd the Absurdity of the Agreement made for the Merchants, and predicted, what afterwards actually happen'd, how tedious, how expensive, and how ineffectual, the Application of our Merchants would be to the Court of *Spain* and the Commissaries. They likewise expos'd the Injustice of the Stipulations with regard to Don *Carlos*, and how injurious they were to the Emperor's Interest and Authority, together with the Probability of the kindling up a War in *Europe*, and disabling our natural Ally, the Emperor, from ever assisting us, if there should be Occasion, to make Head against the Power of *France* : All which was afterwards but too effectually verify'd.

February 24, A Bill to prevent any Persons, his Majesty's Subjects, or residing within these Kingdoms, to advance any Sum of Money to any foreign Prince, State, or Potentate, without having obtained Licence from his Majesty under his Privy Seal, or some greater Authority, was read a second Time, in which, *inter alia*, was the following Clause, *viz.* ' That
 ' the King be empower'd by Proclamation, which
 ' shall take place within a limited Time, to prohibit
 ' all such Loans of Money, Jewels, or Bullion ; and
 ' this Prohibition to continue a limited Time, under
 ' limited Forfeitures and Penalties, unless dispens'd
 ' with by the Crown : That the Attorney General be
 ' empower'd, by *English* Bill, in the Court of *Ex-*
 ' *chequer*, to compel the effectual Discovery, on
 ' Oath, of any such Loans ; and that in default of an
 ' Answer to any such Bill, the Court shall decree a
 ' limited Sum against the Defendant refusing to an-
 ' swer. *Provided*, That this Act do not extend to
 ' prohibit any Subscriptions to the Public Funds,
 ' or Trading Companies of foreign Kingdoms.'

Tho'

Tho' this Bill was laid in general, and brought in as a general Bill into the House by the Minister, yet our Patriot's Friends and himself soon expos'd the Partiality of it, and made it appear, that it was only levell'd against the Emperor, whose Power began to be too formidable to *Hanover*. And that it gave the Court of *Exchequer* a Power equal to that of the Inquisition. The Minister answer'd very frankly, ' That since these things had pass'd thus, he was thereby provok'd to declare what he knew, what he had the King's Leave to declare, and what would effectually silence the Debate : That he was very much inclin'd to say it, and he would say it, if the Gentleman requir'd it, before he sat down : This Bill was not drawn, or promoted, from any other View than its great Necessity, its being now absolutely expedient to the Peace of *Europe*, and the general Repose of Mankind ; for he could say it, he had the King's Leave to declare it ; viz. That there was, at this Time, a Subscription transacting for the Emperor, and Money was raising for his Use, no less than the Sum of 400,000 l.'

Notwithstanding this Declaration, it was very plain, that this Bill arm'd the Crown with a new and terrible Power, and that all was for the sake of *Hanover*, the Interest of which has since been very well consider'd by the very Persons who oppos'd this Bill.

The next Session of Parliament, which began the 21st of *January*, 1731, was open'd by a very ambiguous Speech from the Throne, by which nothing could be learn'd, but that the Treaty of *Seville* had prov'd ineffectual ; and that the Service of the Year would require a greater Sum of Money than that of the last, as they were now on the Eve of a general War. The Address upon this Speech produced a great Debate, in which Mr. * * signaliz'd himself very much. He and his Friends were for leaving out most Part of the Motion, and making

king the Address general ; and they run out very much upon the Fears of the *French* Power. Our Patriot particularly distinguish'd himself by the Heat with which he supported the Amendment propos'd to the Address, viz. " That they would support his Majesty's Engagements, so far as they related to the Interests of *Great Britain*." He said, ' That this Amendment was agreeable to the Act of Settlement, whereby it is expressly provided, " That this Nation shall not be obliged to enter into a War for the Defence of any Dominions not belonging to the Crown of *Great Britain*". That by virtue of this Act, his Majesty held the Crown of these Realms ; and that therefore every Clause and Proviso thereof, was to be exactly observ'd, excepting so far as they had been or should be alter'd by Parliament ; and that therefore the House could not well, by way of Address, go any further, than to say, " That they would support his Majesty's Engagements, so far as they related to the Interest of *Great Britain*."

How well he has supported these Sentiments since, appears but too plainly from the Sequel of his Conduct. However, the Address was carried by the Court.

February 3, The House, in a grand Committee on the Supply, consider'd of the Estimate of the Charge of the *Hessian* Troops, upon which there ensued a warm Debate. Mr. * * and his Friends were against continuing these Troops in our Pay, because they apprehended that they could not be of any Service to *Great Britain*; for, as we were surrounded by the Sea, our Fleet was our own real and proper Security ; and therefore we had no Use for the maintaining of Standing Armies, either at home or abroad ; more particularly at a Time of perfect Tranquility : They alledged, ' That if the Apprehension of a War being speedily to break out, should be made an Argument for keeping foreign
Troops

Troops in our Pay, we could never be without them; for *Europe* never was, nor never could be in such Circumstances, as that it could be said, there was no Reason for having any Apprehension of War: That many Wars might happen upon the Continent, with which we had nothing to do; and if we should, at any Time, have the Misfortune of being involv'd in any War, it was then Time enough to take foreign Troops into our Pay, but till then there was no Necessity for it; for we should always find Troops enough in *Europe* to hire, whenever we had Occasion for them: That therefore the keeping such Troops in our Pay at present, when we had no Occasion for them, was a wasting of the Public Money, which every Man, who has any Regard to the Interest and Welfare of his native Country, ought to prevent, as far as lyes in his Power.' After the Courtiers had, in their own Way, reply'd to all those Arguments, the Question being put, it was resolv'd, 'That 241,259 *l.* 1*s.* 3*d.* be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the Expence of 12,000 *Hessians* taken into his Majesty's Pay, for the Service of the Year 1731.'

February 10, The House resolv'd itself again into a Committee of the whole House, to consider further of the Supply granted to his Majesty, when a Debate arose about the Subsidy payable to the Duke of *Wolfembutte*. Mr. * * and his Friends insist'd, 'That all these Subsidies were of no Service to *Great Britain*; and that they were paid only for the sake of protecting his Majesty's foreign Dominions, which was contrary to the following Clause in the Act of Settlement, viz. *That in case the Crown shall come to any Person not a Native of England, this Nation shall not be oblig'd to a War in defence of Dominions not belonging to this Crown.* To this the Courtiers answer'd, 'That all the Quarrel we had with the Emperor, was upon account of the Trade and Interest of *England*, and not at all on account
of

of any of his Majesty's foreign Dominions ; so that if they should be involved in a War, it would be so far from involving *Great Britain* in any War upon account of them, that the Case would be directly the contrary ; they would be involv'd in a War for the Defence of the Trade and Commerce of *Great Britain* : That since we had a Quarrel with the Emperor, who was a very powerful Prince on the Continent, we had no Way of revenging this Quarrel, but by engaging as many Princes, upon the Continent, as we could, on our Side : And therefore it was necessary to continue those Subsidies, till we could bring the Emperor to our Terms.' Then the Question being put, the Committee likewise agreed to the continuing this Subsidy, and resolved, ' That the Sum of 25,000 *l.* be granted to his Majesty, for one Year's Subsidy to the Duke of *Brunswick-Lunenburg* and *Wolfenbuttle*.'

I have given my Reader, the Substance of what the Courtiers said upon this Occasion, that he may thereby have an Idea of what their then Antagonists have adopted since. We have, upon a late Occasion, heard laid down by them as Maxims, That as the King of *Great Britain* is an Elector of *Germany*, all the Dangers, to which his *German* Dominions are expos'd, arise from his being King of *Great Britain*. The Object, indeed, has been vary'd from the Emperor to *France*, but still the Principles of Reasoning, used by the late and present Ministry, are the same ; only with this Difference, that the latter have push'd the Matter much farther : Under the late Minister, the Nation put but a Foot in, but she is now plung'd over Head and Ears in the *H———n* Quarrel.

The rest of this Session of Parliament was taken up in examining the Petitions of our Merchants, relating to the *Spanish* Depredations ; and after a full Hearing, the House of Commons came to the following Resolutions. [1. That the Petitioners had fully
proved

proved and made good the Allegations of their Petition. 2. That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, “ That he would be graciously pleased “ to continue his Endeavours to prevent the Depre- “ dations of the *Spaniards* for the future ; to pro- “ cure full Satisfaction for the Damages then sustain- “ ed ; and to secure to the *British* Subjects, the full “ and uninterrupted Exercise of their Trade and “ Navigation, to and from the *British* Colonies in “ *America*.” These Resolutions being reported, were agreed to by the House. Then a Motion was made by Mr. * * and his Friends, for the following Amendments to the above Address, *viz.* “ And to “ procure a full, prompt, and speedy Satisfaction ;” On which there was a long Debate. Those who were for the Motion insisted, ‘ That it was the Business of Parliament to protect, or take care that the Subjects should be protected from all Injuries and Wrongs both at home and abroad ; and the Case before them was of so high a Nature, that it requir’d not only a full, but a prompt and speedy Redress.’ The Courtiers hereupon endeavour’d to shew, ‘ That the adding these Words, would look as if the House had a Diffidence of his Majesty’s Conduct and Concern for the Good of his Subjects.’ At last the Question being put, it was carry’d against those Words, by 207 against 135.

I cannot conclude the Accounts of this Session, without taking notice of a memorable Motion made by the Friends of our Patriot, for Leave to bring in a Bill *to prevent the Translation of Bishops*. In support of the Motion, it was urg’d, ‘ That such a Bill was necessary, to prevent the too great Dependance of that Part of the Legislature upon the Crown.’ To this the Courtiers answer’d, ‘ That such a Law would be a great Encroachment upon the Prerogative of the Crown, and an Injury to the Rights of the Clergy.’ Then the Question being put on the Motion, it pass’d in the Negative. This Motion

Motion was generally supposed to be owing to a remarkable Speech having been made in the House of Lords against the Pension Bill, by Dr. S ——— Bishop of S. ——— the Day before, and to the Unanimity which appear'd in the Reverend Bench in their Opposition to that Bill. To such Extremes of Party-Rancour were some People carried, against those who ventur'd to differ from them upon Points, not the thousandth Part so destructive to the Nation, as those Points in which they have since differ'd from every Man of Sense and Virtue within the Nation.

As we have no Intention, by these Pages, to reflect upon any Part of Mr. **, but that which immediately affected the Public; and no View in exposing *that*, but to let the World see what they are to expect from the Ad ———n of Persons who profess such Inconsistencies in their Conduct, so we shall omit any Account of a Personal Quarrel, that happen'd betwixt him and a noble Lord: It is sufficient to observe, that both of them acquitted themselves like Men of Honour; that it took its Rise from a too free Exercise of that Liberty of the Press by Mr. **, which he has since so much endeavour'd to suppress. The Reflections thrown out in Mr. **'s *Proper Reply*, &c. which gave Occasion to the Duel, were intirely personal to the noble Lord, and all dispassionate Readers thought them foreign to the Merits of the Question betwixt them. On the other hand, the noble Lord, by sending the Challenge to Mr. **, which he did by a young Gentleman who has since been made a P—r, was a Deviation from the strict Principles of Decorum; since it was never understood, that a Quarrel, begun with the Pen, should be decided by the Sword.

But this personal Acrimony in Writing, because, in some measure, it was mutual, would have easily been over-look'd by the Public, had it not been for some extraordinary Performances which dropt from

Mr.

Mr. * * 's Pen, relating to the Minister himself. There is no Doubt, but that Mr. * * lived long with Sir *R——t W——le* in an unreserv'd Confidence and Friendship. It is therefore no Wonder, that many Things pass betwixt them under this Seal of Confidence and Friendship, which no Occasion ought to have broken, and no Resentment should dissolve. But the World was surpriz'd when our Patriot's Resentment, so far got the better of his Reason, that he publish'd to the World Secrets, which, by his own Confession, were communicated under the strictest and most inviolable Ties of mutual Confidence. But what was still worse, the Conversation thus divulg'd, was of such a Nature, as not only plac'd the Minister, but a Person of a much higher Rank, in a most ridiculous Light. It related, chiefly, to such another Compromise, as had been upon a later Occasion; in which the Minister, according to Mr. * * 's Representation, talk'd in the most slighting and disparaging Manner of that high Person. This Repetition of Words, injurious to Majesty, was thought to be extremely indecent, setting aside the Consideration of a Breach of Confidence. The putting the Words complain'd of in the Mouth of another Person, did not at all lessen the Disrespect of his Conduct; and the best and most sincere Friends that Mr. * * had in the World gave him up on this Occasion. There is no Doubt, the Minister took care to improve this Incident to his own Purposes: But whatever may be in this, the following Article appear'd in the *Gazette*, viz. July 1, 1731, *This Day his Majesty in Council call'd for the Council Book, and with his own Hand struck the Name of Mr. * * out of the List of Privy Counsellors: His Majesty further order'd the said Mr. * * to be put out of all the Commissions of the Peace; and that the several Lords Lieutenants who have given him Deputations, do revoke the same: And the Right Hon. the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain and*

his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State were directed to give the necessary Orders therein.

The Reader, in the Review we have already taken, has, no doubt, observ'd, that the Edge of our Patriot's Opposition, always sharpen'd in proportion to the Disappointments and ill Treatments he met with from the Court. Accordingly, it is no Wonder, after this personal Affront, if we find him in the next Session of Parliament, which met on the 13th of *January*, 1732, opposing the Address of Thanks which was moved for in return to the Speech from the Crown, which declared the Conclusion of the second *Vienna Treaty*. The Terms in which he then spoke ought never to be forgot, especially at this Juncture. The Reader may remember, that the great Difference that subsisted betwixt the Courts of *Vienna* and *London*, was with regard to the *Pragmatic Sanction*, which we refus'd to guarantee. This Obstacle being now got over, it was term'd by the Court to be the Restoration and Establishment of the general Tranquility of *Europe*. ' I am certain, said our Patriot, in his Speech against the Address propos'd, there was a Time some Years ago, when we might have been as right as we are now, and upon the same Conditions. If we had embrac'd that Opportunity, a great deal of Money would have been saved to the Nation : But in those Days the Guarantee of the *Pragmatic Sanction* was look'd on as inconsistent with the Interest and Happiness of this Nation, and was represented as such, even by those who have now agreed to it : What were their Reasons for representing it in such a hideous Shape at that Time, and placing it now in so amiable a View, I cannot comprehend. For my part, Sir, I do not see any Necessity we were under of agreeing to it, even at this present Time : For, by our agreeing to that Guarantee, we lay ourselves under an Obligation of assisting the *Austrian Family*, whenever they shall be attack'd by any Po-

tentate

tentate whatever, except the Grand Seignior: They may happen to be attack'd, when it will be much against the Interest of this Nation to engage itself in a War upon any foreign Account; and if they should acquire many more Territories, it may be for the Interest of the Nation even to join in the Attack, in order to preserve the Balance of *Europe*; the establishing of which has already cost us such immense Sums of Money: Thus we may be oblig'd either to engage in a War, contrary to the Interest and Well being of our Country, or otherwise be guilty of a Breach of Faith, to the eternal Dishonour of the Nation.'

This Speech produc'd a great many others of the like Nature from Mr. * * 's Friends, which were reply'd to by the Courtiers; but however the Question was carried in the Affirmative, without any Division.

Our Patriot's Speech upon the Army this Year, is so very remarkable, that, I dare say, our Readers will be pleas'd with some Extracts from it, as the whole of it is applicable at any Time.

' We have heard, Sir, *said he*, about Parliamentary Armies, and about an Army continued from Year to Year; I have always been, Sir, and always shall be against a Standing Army of any kind; to me it is a terrible Thing; whether under that of Parliamentary or any other Designation, a Standing Army is still a Standing Army, whatever Name it be called by; they are a Body of Men distinct from the Body of the People; they are govern'd by different Laws; blind Obedience, and an entire Submission to the Orders of their Commanding Officer, is their only Principle. The Nations around us, Sir, are already enslaved, and have been enslaved by those very Means; by Means of their Standing Armies they have lost their Liberties; it is indeed impossible, that the Liberties of

the People should long subsist in any Country where a numerous Standing Army is kept up : Shall we then take any of our Measures from the Examples of our Neighbours ? No, Sir ; upon the contrary, from their Misfortunes we ought to learn to avoid these Rocks upon which they have split.

It signifies nothing to tell me, that our Army is commanded by such Gentlemen, as cannot be supposed to join in any Measures for enslaving their Country ; it may be so ; I hope it is : I have a very good Opinion of many Gentlemen now in the Army ; I believe they would not join in any such Measures ; but their Lives are uncertain ; nor can we be sure how long they may be continued in Command : They may all be dismiss'd in a Moment, and proper Tools of Power put in their Room. Besides, Sir, we know the Passions of Men, we know how dangerous it is to trust the best of Men with too much Power. Where was there a braver Army than that under *Julius Caesar* ? Where was there ever an Army that had served their Country more faithfully ? That Army was commanded in general by the best Citizens of *Rome*, by Men of great Fortune and Figure in their Country ; yet that Army enslaved their Country. The Affections of the Soldiers towards their Country, the Honour and Integrity of the Under-Officers, are not to be depended on : By the Military Law the Administration of Justice is so quick, and the Punishment so severe, that neither Officer nor Soldier dares offer to dispute the Orders of his supreme Commander ; he must not consult his own Inclinations : If an Officer were commanded to pull his own Father out of this House, he must do it ; he dares not disobey ; immediate Death would be the sure Consequence of the least Grumbling : And if an Officer were sent into the Court of Requests, accompanied with a Body of Musketeers, with screw'd Bayonets, and with

with Orders to tell us what we ought to do, and how we were to vote, I know what would be the Duty of this House ; I know it would be our Duty to order the Officer to be taken and hang'd up at the Door of the Lobby ; but, Sir, I doubt much if such a Spirit would be found in the House, or in any House of Commons that will ever be in *England*.'

He afterwards goes on, ' It has been urg'd, Sir, That whoever is for the Protestant Succession must be for continuing the Army ; for that very Reason, Sir, I am against continuing the Army. I know that neither the Protestant Succession in his Majesty's most illustrious House, nor any Succession can ever be safe as long as there is a Standing Army in the Country. Armies, Sir, have no Regard to Hereditary Succession. The first two *Cæsars* at *Rome* did pretty well, and found Means to keep their Armies in tolerable Subjection, because the Generals and Officers were all their own Creatures : But how did it fare with their Successors ? Was not every one of them nam'd by the Army without any Regard to Hereditary Right, or to any Right ? A Cobler, a Gardener, or any Man who happened to raise himself in the Army, and could gain their Affections, was made Emperor of the World. Was not every succeeding Emperor rais'd to the Throne, or tumbled headlong into Dust, according to the meer Whim, or mad Frenzy of the Soldiers ?

We are told, O ! Gentlemen, that this Army is desired to be continued but for one Year longer ; it is not desir'd to be continued for any Term of Years : How absurd is this Distinction ! Is there any Army in the World continued for any Term of Years ? Does the most absolute Monarch tell his Army that he is to continue them for any Number of Years or Months ? How long have we continued our Army already from Year to Year ? And if it thus continues

tinues, wherein will it differ from the Standing Armies of those Countries who have already submitted their Necks to the Yoke? We are now come to the *Rubicon*; our Army is now to be reduced, or it never will: From his Majesty's own Mouth we are assured of a profound Tranquility Abroad; we know there is one at Home: If this is not a proper Time, if these Circumstances do not afford us a safe Opportunity for reducing at least a Part of our regular Forces, we never can expect to see any Reduction; and the Nation, already overloaded with Debts and Taxes, must be loaded with the heavy Charge of perpetually supporting a numerous Standing Army; and remain for ever exposed to the Danger of having its Liberties and Privileges trampled upon by any future King, or Ministry, who shall take it in their Heads to do so, and shall take proper Care to model the Army for that Purpose.'

Then the Question being put on the Motion, it was agreed to, without any Amendment, by 241 against 171:

January 27, Mr. * * moved, " That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that he " would be graciously pleased to give Directions " to the proper Officers, to lay before the House, " an Account of what Commissions in the Army, " and Governments of Garrisons, had been kept " vacant, and what Savings had been made there- " upon."

Upon this, Sir *William Strickland* stood up, and said, ' That no such Account had ever been kept at the War-Office; the Custom there was, that when any Officer died, the Commissary certified his Death to that Office, in order that the Pay might be stopp'd; and they never began to issue any Money upon that Account, till a new Commission was lodg'd in that Office.'

Several

Several of the other Courtiers making very slight of this Motion, our Patriot made the following remarkable Speech :

‘ Sir, I made the Motion, in a Manner, by meer Accident ; but I do not think it is an Argument against it to tell us, that the Savings amount to but a meer Trifle ; we shall be best Judges of that when we see the Accounts laid before us ; and let it amount to what it will, if it is saved (I will not say sunk, being a hard Word) we ought to enquire into the Application of it. I believe there are not a great many Commissions kept long vacant ; but I am sure there have been some that have been kept vacant for a considerable Time ; we ought at least to have an Account of them ; because, I observe, there is a Demand brought in every Year, which is called, *An Account of Services incurr’d, and not provided for* : I think the most proper Way of answering this Account, is to have *An Account of Services provided for, and not perform’d*. I am persuaded, that in the Civil List Revenue, there is not an Office vacant for a Day, but what the Savings thereby are brought to Account, and disposed of in the most frugal Manner ; I think the same good Management ought to be observed in the Army.’

But notwithstanding all this Reasoning, several Gentlemen spoke for and against the Motion, which being put on the Question, it was rejected. But we shall soon have an Opportunity of seeing how far the same Spirit of Frugality prevails with the same Persons, when, probably, an Enquiry into some late Abuses of the Public Money, much more gross than any that happened at this Time, may be moved for. When this Debate was over, that for continuing the Army begun, in which our Patriot’s Speech is so remarkably applicable to the present Times, that I cannot help giving it *verbatim*.

‘ Sir,

‘ Sir, I was afraid at the Beginning of this Debate, that Barracks were to have been propos’d, I am glad to find it is not so. I am indeed, as much as any Person, for giving Relief to that Part of our poor oppressed Subjects, the Inn-keepers and Victuallers: For since that I find an Army is like to be a Part of our Constitution, I think it very just and reasonable, that the Expence of maintaining them, should be laid as equally as possible upon the whole People of the Nation. But, Sir, I must observe, that the same Money which we raise for maintaining 18,000 Men, would maintain 60,000 Men of regular Forces in *France*, *Germany*, or any other Country in *Europe*, according to their Way of regulating their Armies. I know, Sir, from whence our great Expence proceeds: It is from the great Number of Officers maintained in our Army; we have so many Regiments, and so few private Men in each Regiment, that really a great Part of our Constitution are Non-Commission Officers; which makes our Army so expensive to us, and at the same Time makes it more dangerous to our Constitution. I have been assured, that 100,000 *l. English* Money, *per Annum*, will maintain 10,000 Men of the Armies of *France* or *Germany*, or any other Troops, but our own. And I have been told, I do not say that I remember, or that I can depend upon my Author, that the 12,000 *Hessians*, which we have so long maintained, were maintained for less than that Sum yearly.’

To apply this Doctrine to the Practice introduc’d by our Patriot and his Friends after they came into Power, I should be glad to know upon what Pretence the *English* Army, which is so chargeable in maintaining, was sent Abroad, when we might have maintained 60,000 Mercenaries according to our Patriot’s own way of Reasoning, as cheap as we do the 18000 Men we have now in *Germany*. I should be glad to know whether his Reasoning upon the
Hessian

Hessian Forces is not equally applicable to the *Hanoverian*, and whether the *Hanoverian* in our Pay are not now as chargeable as our own Forces. *Ex Ore tuo judicabo te.*

In a Motion made this Session for regulating the Fees, our Patriot was very keen for having a Committee to enquire into them establish'd, in which he prevail'd ; and the House having resolved itself into a Grand Committee to consider farther of the Supply, a Motion was made, ' That 25,348*l.* 2*s.* be granted to his Majesty upon Account, for Out-Pensioners of *Chelsea* Hospital for the Year 1732,' which being seconded, Mr. * * spoke on that Occasion as follows,

' Sir, I do not now rise up to make any Motion ; but I think I am in Duty to my Country, in Duty to those who do me the Honour to give me a Place in this House, bound to take Notice of some Accounts or Estimates, which have been laid before us, and which to me seem to be somewhat extraordinary. I must in general observe, that the Estimates of the Public Expences increase every Year : From Year to Year there is always some new Article to be provided for, or some Addition made to the old. If we at any Time get free of an extraordinary Charge, it always leaves some Marks behind it ; there is always some Part of it remains, and is continued to be a Burden upon the People : These small Remains may be by some thought too inconsiderable to be taken Notice of ; but to me nothing seems to be inconsiderable that is a Charge upon the People : These small Remains, and these annual Additions, by thus yearly increasing, may come at last to be a Burden too heavy to be borne.

' I cannot now omit taking Notice of the Article of *Chelsea* College : By the Estimate now laid before us, that Article appears to be heavier than it was last Year. During the last War this Nation maintained near 200,000 Men, of which near 90,000

were national Troops ; yet towards the End of that War, the Pensioners of *Chelsea* College did not amount to above 2000 ; whereas, if we include the Regiment of Invalids, and the several Independent Companies of Invalids, they now amount to above 4000 Men. I do not doubt but the Commissioners do what they can to examine, and to admit none but those, who, by the Rules of that Hospital, appear to be entitled to be taken in, and yet are not proper Objects of Charity, either to public or private. I know, Sir, that there is a Spirit among the Officers of the Army for having all their Regiments look well to the Eye ; there is a sort of Emulation among them who shall have the most young, and the best look'd Fellows in their Regiment : This is the Cause that many a brave old Soldier is discharg'd, in order to make room for a spruce young Fellow, who can powder his Hair, and dress, so as to make a good Appearance on a Day of Review : Tho' the old Man perhaps be the better Soldier of the two, and not only willing, but able to serve his Country for many Years ; yet he is discharg'd as unfit for Service, and brought in as a Pensioner upon *Chelsea* College : They are admitted into the College as Men old and infirm, yet when once they are got in, they seem to be immortal ; their Number never decreases : Surely there are many of those immortal old Men who live so long as idle Pensioners of *Chelsea* College, that might have serv'd for a great Part of that Time as good Soldiers, even in a Marching Regiment, more especially in Time of Peace, when there is not the least Occasion for their being obliged to undergo any great Fatigues ; their Duty cannot be extraordinary, and their Marches may be made as easy as they please. I remember, that at the last Scrutiny which was made into the Affairs of that Hospital, in which a Right Honourable Person had a principal Concern, above one half of the Persons whose

Names

Names were entered as Pensioners, could not possibly be found ; and of those who were enter'd as Letter men, there were above a Hundred, which was at least one half, discharged. I do not indeed know why there should be any enter'd in that Character ; I do not see that there is any Necessity for it.

‘ We have heard, Sir, a great deal of the fine Roads lately made through the *Highlands* of *Scotland*, and I do not doubt of their being such as they have been represented ; nor do I doubt but that the Gentleman who had the Oversight and Direction of them has taken Care to execute the Design as faithfully and as frugally as possible. But I cannot see what it was that made such a Design so absolutely necessary. These *Highlanders*, it is true, were made appear terrible before they were known ; but after we got a little more into their Acquaintance, they appeared to be but Men ; and after they were disarm'd I cannot see that there was any great Occasion for this extraordinary Expence, for which I find there is now charged about the Sum of 10,000 *l*. But since we have been at this extraordinary Expence, and that the *Highlands* are thereby made accessible, whenever we have a Mind to send any Troops into that Country, there is certainly no farther Occasion for the six *Highland* Companies, which are kept up only for preserving the Peace of that Country. These six Companies amount to above 500 Men, and the maintaining of them costs the Public much above 5000 *l*. yearly. This Expence may now certainly be saved, and all the Service they do, or can possibly do, may, for the future, be perform'd by Detachments from the Regiments which are kept in that Part of the Island. These Things, Sir, I thought myself obliged to take notice of ; but I shall make no Motion, only I hope that they will be seriously consider'd, and that all

proper Methods will be taken for lessening the Public Charge as much as possible.

But all these fine Reasonings had no other Effect, than the Courtiers, especially such of them as were, or had at any time been of the *Che-Jea* Board, declaring that they never knew any Impositions of that kind, and that great Care was always taken in admitting Pensioners. Others took notice, that the Roads to the *Highlands* had been of great Service, and that the Independent Companies were absolutely necessary for keeping them quiet. To this Mr. * * replied, That he knew the Commissioners had been imposed upon; and gave an Instance of a Fellow, who was admitted because his Ribs had been broken by a Cannon-Ball, whereas it appeared that they had been broken by a Fall from a Ladder. He farther took notice, That the better the *Highland* Roads were, there was the less Reason for keeping up the Independent Companies. But to all this the Minister absolutely gave it as his Opinion, that the *Highlands* could not be without those Companies; and told the House a long Story of the *Highlands* being the *Rendezvous* of the *Jacobites*. But Facts best speak for themselves. These Companies have been since removed without any bad Consequence either to the Country or to the Government. But as a final Answer to all Objections, *the Question was put*, and agreed to.

I shall not here take any Notice of our Patriot's Behaviour in the Affair of the *Charitable Corporation*, because it was not a Party Cause. But as in this Session the Minister made a very extraordinary Motion, which was, to have the *Pension Bill* read in the House a third Time; there is somewhat so very extraordinary in Mr. * * 's Answer, that it deserves to be recorded. He said, 'That though the other House had twice thrown the *Pension Bill* out, *he could not think that any Man of Honour could be against it*; That it seem'd the other House was tired

of

of doing their (the Commons) *dirty Work*, and if so they must do it themselves.' However, as the Minister's Motion was rather a Bravado than any thing else, his Friends advis'd him to drop it, which he did.

This Session was likewise distinguished by the Revival of the Salt Duty ; a Tax against which our Patriot and his Friends greatly exclaim'd ; not because of the Impropriety of the Time, or the unnecessary Juncture to justify it, but of the Unreasonableness of the Thing itself, and the great Oppression which it brought upon the Nation in general, and the poorer People in particular. How well their Practice, since they came into Power, has answered their own Arguments, I leave the Public to judge. I cannot, however, omit taking Notice, that it was then a constant Maxim with the Gentlemen in the Opposition, and especially our Patriot, that the *Scotch* were not intitled to an Exemption from the Salt Duty, or from any Part of it ; and this they founded upon the Articles of the *Union*, which says, ' There shall be an Equality of Excises, ' Customs, and all other Taxes throughout the United Kingdoms.' What particular Exemption they have got in this Respect, since our Hero and his Friends came into Play, I know not ; only I am certain, if there is no late Exemption, the Reasoning stands as good *now* as it did *then*.

The remaining Part of this Session was spent in carrying thro' this Bill, in the Affair of the *Charitable Corporation* ; the Sale of Lord *Derwentwater's* Estate ; the Sugar Colony Bill ; a Bill for securing the Freedom of Parliaments by a farther Qualification of the Members, which, by-the-bye, was scandalously lost, or rather given up by our Patriot ; and several other more minute Transactions, in all which there happened nothing remarkable.

The next Session, which was the sixth of that Parliament, was open'd by a very general short
Speech

Speech from the Throne, which served to disguise the great Scheme then on Foot, of bringing in an Excise Bill. But this Artifice being seen thro' by the Opposition, some stinging Words were proposed, and warmly insisted upon by Mr. * * and his Friends, to be inserted in their Address of Thanks to the Crown ; but, as usual, without Effect. But a few Days after, a certain Honourable Gentleman, who, since that Time, has succeeded the Minister in one of his Posts, was so very zealous for the *Pension* Bill, that he proposed to have it renewed ; and therefore asked Leave, not to bring it *in*, but to bring it *up*. This Motion was strenuously supported by the Opposition ; but it not appearing to be quite regular, it was dropt. And yet, have we not seen that very Honourable Person, since that Time, voting and speaking it away against this favourite Bill of his, without being able to assign one Reason why it was necessary at one Time, and not so at another ! When the Number of Standing Forces came to be debated this Session, the Court being destitute of all Pretences for keeping them up, from the Situation of Affairs abroad, lugg'd in the *Pretender* into the Debate, at which our Patriot made himself very merry, ridiculing all such Fears, and laying it down as an eternal Maxim, that the *Pretender* neither then had, nor ever cou'd have, any Party in this Nation, to support his Interest : Yet no sooner was it the Turn of him and his Friends, than they set up the very Phantom they had exploded.

It was in this Session that the Minister, who had called himself the Father of the *Sinking Fund*, gave this beloved Child of his own Brain, a Blow which it never has been able to recover. He had laid it down as a Maxim, that it had always been understood, that the *Sinking Fund* was a *Depositum* sacred to the Payment of the National Debt : But now under the same groundless Pretences, as that upon which he
revived

revived the Salt Duty, viz. the easing the Landed Interest, he moved in the Committee, for issuing 500,000*l.* out of this *Depositum*, for the Service of the Year 1733. When this Motion came to be debated, it met with great Opposition, particularly from Mr. **, who laid it down as a capital Point, that the Commons of *Great Britain* should always keep a Reserve in their own Hands, as a Security that the Grievances of their Fellow-Subjects shou'd be redress'd. The Reader will easily perceive how well this Reasoning has been seconded by the Practice of those very Gentlemen, who no sooner got into a Share of the Administration, than they laid the same violent Hands upon this sacred *Depositum*, as their Predecessor did ; but, in one respect, were more blameable than him in that : He lavish'd the Public Money indeed, but then he lavish'd it amongst ourselves ; but his Successors upon Foreigners, and for foreign Purposes, as fatal to the Interest of *Great Britain*, as their Predecessor's Measures were destructive of her Glory.

The proposing the Excise-Scheme was the Measure which begot greater Ill-will and Unpopularity to the Minister, than any Step he took during his long Administration. It united all Interests and Parties, excepting those who had an immediate Dependence upon the Revenue, against him ; and the Clamour it rais'd was not confin'd to the loose dispersed Rabble, but was push'd by regular Resolutions from the most considerable Bodies of the Kingdom, particularly by the City of *London*, who had at that Time a *Tory Lord Mayor*, under whose Directions and Influence her Government made as noble a Figure in the Opposition, as it had ever been known to do under the most violent Whigs. It was therefore, in effect, owing to this Spirit without Doors, more than to the Speeching of our Patriot and his Friends within Doors, where the Court had an evident Majority, that the Scheme

was

was dropt. But before I leave this Subject, I can't omit taking Notice of one Proposal thrown out by Mr. *. *. ' It is well known, *said he*, that it was the Custom among our Ancestors, when any new Device was proposed, to desire Time to have a Conference with their Countries : Upon which he quoted two remarkable Passages, *viz.* Lord Coke's *Inst.* 4th Part, p. 14, where that great Lawyer has these Words, *viz.*

It is also the Law and Custom of the Parliament, that when any new Device is moved in the King's Behalf in Parliament, for his Aid, or the like ; the Commons may answer, that they tender'd the King's Estate, and are ready to aid the same, only in this new Device they dare not agree, without Conference with their Countries. Whereby it appears, that such Conference is warrantable by the Law and Custom of Parliament. And again, p. 34.

At the Parliament holden the 9th of King Edward the IIIrd, for a Subsidy of a new Kind, the Commons answered, that they would have Conference with those of their several Countries and Places who had put them in Trust, before they treated of any such Matter.

' If such Conference was ever necessary, continued our Patriot, upon any Occasion, it is surely necessary before we agree to the Device now offer'd to us ; a Device, which, in my Opinion, strikes at the very Root of our Liberties ; it is, in my way of Thinking, a downright Plan for arbitrary Power ; and in this I am not singular, for there seems to be many Gentlemen of the same Opinion within Doors, as well as without ; therefore I must think that it is necessary, it is incumbent upon every Gentleman of this House, at least, to desire to have a Conference with his Constituents, before he agrees to any such Device.'

This is another of the Doctrines laid down by the Gentlemen of the then Opposition ; a Doctrine, which,

which, as they pretended, did not result from *Convenience* or the *Necessity of Temporizing* ; but it is inherent to our Constitution. Therefore it remains the same in all Exigencies of Government, when any *new Device is made on the King's Behalf, for his Aid, or the like*. But how was this Doctrine practis'd, when, upon a late Occasion, 16,000 Forces belonging to the King of G——t B——n were taken into the Pay of G——t B——n ; a *Device, for the Aid of the King*, I believe, of the newest Kind that ever was invented, and which, if it were not for the Dependance the Nation has upon his Majesty's and his Family's Personal Virtues, must appear more terrible, than ever the Terrors of an *Excise-Scheme* itself.

I shall only, from the above Quotations made by our Patriot, and his Applications of them, take Notice here, that the Opposition had then laid it down as a Principle, that the People had a Right to be informed, and to be consulted as to any capital Point under the Consideration of Parliament ; that this was a fundamental Maxim in the Constitution : Yet we have seen those very Gentlemen since, in a Pamphlet which is known to be clubb'd by the Party, assert it to be *the constant and allow'd Principle of our Constitution, that no Man, after he is chosen, is to consider himself as a Member for any particular Place, but as a Representative for the whole Nation*. Nay, the Authors of this Pamphlet go so far as to say, * *That Parliaments have never allow'd the Right of instructing to lie in the People ; and that accordingly it has been a Practice, which, introduc'd first in the Times of the Great Rebellion, has never been exercised, but in Times that threaten'd the same Confusion*. Whether these Maxims are true or false, is not my present Purpose to examine ; only I will take the Liberty

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* See *Faction detected, by the Evidence of Facts* : Printed for Roberts. P. 79.

berty of drawing one demonstrative Conclusion, which will effectually answer the Design of writing these Sheets. Either the People ought to be consulted upon great and eminent Exigencies of Government which come before Parliament, or they ought not to be consulted. If they ought, then it follows, that the Doctrine adopted *now* by those Gentlemen is *false, pernicious, arbitrary, and unreasonable*; since, to adopt the Words of a true Patriot, there can be no Treason so *detestable as that against the Rights and Privileges of a free People*. If, on the other hand, this is not a Right which belongs to the People, what shall we say of those who for Twenty Years cajol'd the People into a contrary Belief? Is it not just that such Men should suffer thro' the Spirit which they themselves have raised and kept up? Is it not just to retort upon them all their own Arguments, and upbraid them both with Injustice and the grossest Dissimulation? Had the Author of the above Pamphlet been sensible of the many gross Contradictions contained in its unmeasurable Length, and at the same time of the detestable Light in which he places his Heroes, whom he represents as a Set of juggling, false, dissimulating Knaves, he wou'd not surely have let his Zeal got so much the Start of his Understanding, as to publish *Falsities* for *Facts*, and go on in a Train of Reasoning which must transmit his Heroes to this and future Ages, as Wretches, who, to gain a little Point of Personal Revenge upon the Minister, set at nought all Ties of Conscience, Duty, and Gratitude. But of this more hereafter.

In the Debate upon the Address to the Throne, the first Day of the last Session of this Parliament, our Patriot, upon an Objection to the Generality of the Words "That the Commons would support
 " his Majesty in all those Measures which he shall
 " think necessary to enter into" by Mr. *Shippen*; and to those of securing his Majesty's Possessions,
 because

because such an Expression might include the *German* Dominions, made by another Gentleman, I say, upon those Objections, threw cold Water upon the Debate, as if he had been then in Hopes of acting vigorously for both. He said ‘ That he wou’d take the Liberty to propose an Amendment, but that he must acquaint the House, his Motion was without any View of making a Difference or Division that Day ; and that he would insist upon nothing unless it was entirely agreeable to every Gentleman in the House.’ And then he faintly introduced an Amendment, *viz. Provided such Measures shall appear to this House necessary for obtaining such Ends :* Which was neither agreeable to *all* the Gentlemen in the House, nor was it insisted upon by the Gentlemen in the Opposition. In the Course of this Debate, however, it having been suggested to an honourable Gentleman, that the Words of the Address proposed, might be afterwards construed as containing a Vote of Credit ; this Objection turn’d the Debate pretty much upon the Subject of Votes of Credit : Upon which our Patriot observed, ‘ That Votes of Credit originally were of a very different Nature from what they are at present. That they were then never so much as asked, but for some particular Purposes expressly mentioned ; the Sum was always limited ; the Parliament became Sureties for that Sum ; and an exact Account was given to Parliament to what Purposes the Money so granted was apply’d.’ It is true, that in Consequence of this Reasoning, I do not remember an unlimited formal Vote of Credit to have pass’d since the Change of the Ministry ; but of what Significancy is the *Form* of doing the Thing, while the Grievance and Expence continues the same, equally dangerous and intollerable. If the immense Sums for the Service of the Year, amounting to betwixt six and seven Millions of Money, is greater than all granted in any one Year of the late Administration,

nistratation, their Votes of Credit and every Thing included ; and if, by a new Device, the Land-Tax Bill is made to answer every Purpose of a Vote of Credit.

January 23, 1733-4, A Motion was made by an honourable Gentleman now in the T——y, for Papers relating to the Execution of the Treaty of *Seville*. This having produc'd a personal Debate betwixt the Minister and the Heads of the Opposition, Mr. * * took notice, that the refusing to lay before the House Papers relating to a foreign Negotiation is unparliamentary and unreasonable : ‘ Do we not know, *continued he*, that upon such Occasions we name a secret and select Committee to inspect such Papers, and to report what they find in them relating to the Affair under our Consideration ; and, I hope, we shall always have in this House Ten or a Dozen Gentlemen as capable to distinguish what ought to be kept secret, and as capable to keep those Secrets, as any Secretary or Minister of State, that is or ever shall be in this Nation.’ Give me Leave here to enquire, what has become now of such Gentlemen ? Was the House of C——ns, by our Patriot and his Antagonist’s being removed to another House, disabled from furnishing out ten or twelve such Gentlemen, when some Papers were called for relating to the important Engagements of this Nation with the Queen of *Hungary*, and other foreign Powers ? It was then the H—se of C——ns were told by the very Gentlemen, who always exclaim’d against and ridicul’d such Arguments, when used against themselves, * *That such Motions were calculated only to distress the Government, and to enable artful Men to raise Murmurs against the most necessary Charges of the State ; and to quarrel with the best Means of Public Security, with a manifest Advantage, because it is easy to dispute the Wisdom of Measures, which never*

can

* See Faction detected, P. 1.

can be entirely disclosed, till they are fully executed. Upon this Occasion, I say, this Cant was revived, which, in effect, takes from the House of Commons all the Power of Enquiry into *Foreign Measures*, or the Application of Money destin'd, or pretended to be apply'd to foreign Purposes. But what Deceit or Inconsistency can we imagine too gross for Men to be guilty of, who openly avow, That all the Time they wore the Mask of Opposition, all the Time they were deeply vowing and swearing, that they meant no more by Opposition, than securing the People in their undoubted Privileges and Birth-Rights, which they thought to be endanger'd by the excessive Power of the Crown, acquir'd by corrupt Practices : I say, what is too infamous for such Men, when after this, they avow, That their Opposition * *was not a Quarrel about particular Laws or Alterations of the Constitution* ; and farther, ' That something of this kind is attempted in the ' Course of every Opposition ; and something of ' this kind is from Time to Time necessary, ' *within the Bounds of Moderation*, to be done, ' to confine Government to its first Principle, ' and proper to be attempted in some Conjunctions, even in a further Degree than is intended ' to be done, to keep Ministers of a certain Character in Awe, and to maintain the People, in a ' Sense of their Advantages, which such Ministers, ' without that lively Sense in them, might have it ' otherwise in their Power to impair.— But these ' were secondary Views ; the grand Point intended, ' and what these were employ'd only as Engines to ' effect, *was to remove the Minister, and to bring back ' the Councils of this Country to its true Interest.*

As we are now come to the Period, when, by the Defeat of the Excise-Scheme, the Opposition began to gather Strength, and to make a greater Figure in the House of Commons, we will, with the Reader's Leave, here examine a little into the other Facts

* See P. 13, *ibid.*

Facts and Principles contained in this Pamphlet of the Party. For my own Part, I can easily see, that it is a shameful Confession of their Treachery and Dissimulation, *extorted* from them by the bare-fac'd Inconsistency of their Conduct: It is like a Paper deliver'd to the People by a Robber at the Gallows, in which he pleads in his Excuse, that when he held the Pistol to the Breast of the Traveller, he never meant to murder him, and pleads Treachery and Perjury as Alleviations of his Crimes.

‘ The Conjuncture was now come, (*viz.* when the Opposition was at its Height,) *continues our Author*, which had been long and impatiently expected by the Faction.—Confusion was begun—and the Government attack'd without the least Appearance that the Faction (meaning the *Tories*) had been the Authors of it.’ But to whom was this Confusion owing? Not to the *Tories*, * *for they*, according to this Author, *only acted an under Part in this Whig Opposition. And they only concurr'd to raise the Ferment which had introduc'd the Confusion.* Therefore, upon the very Concessions of these Gentlemen, they were the People who had introduc'd Confusion, and raised a Spirit, which made themselves acknowledge, that || *Domestic Peace was in the utmost Hazard*: Nay, they tell us further, it was not owing to them if it was not destroyed: † ‘ It was owing to his Majesty’s Prudence, who dictated and assisted us in the middle Way of Moderation, in which all Safety consists, by yielding to a Change of the Minister.’ So that this excellent Scribe lays it down as a Principle, that the Heads of the *Whig* Opposition had actually carry'd Matters so far, that a Civil War was upon the Point of breaking out, and of endangering his Majesty’s Person and Government; (for, by his Way of Reasoning, Dissatisfaction with the Measures of the Ministry is the same, or very near the same

* See P. 14, *ib.* || P. 36. † *Ibid.*

same Thing with Disaffection to the Royal Family.) And for what Reason? Why, forsooth, because they wanted to remove a Minister: That is, to get into his Posts. This every Man of common Sense plainly perceives to be the whole Sum of this *Apostate's* Doctrine. But, how ridiculous, how bare-facedly wicked this Pretence is, we may partly perceive from his own Way of Reasoning: For, speaking of the *Jacobite* Faction, which, by-the-bye, he takes for granted, against all Sense, Reason, and Experience, form'd Part of the late Opposition, he says, * ‘ They had indeed a View, but it was a private Title, the Interest of one Man, and of one Family. An Object in itself unworthy any Party, and criminal too in the highest Degree, because it was the private Interest of a Man and Family, who, by their Education and Religion, were nourish’d in a fatal Enmity to their Country.’ I have heard, that out of Excrements themselves, an Essence may be extracted somewhat resembling Musk. If we make a *Politico-Chymical* Essay of this kind with this Writer; we must apply the Principles of *Jacobite* Loyalty, which he lays down here, with those of *Whig* Opposition, which he avows and justifies elsewhere. If the former then were inexcusable for making *Personal Attachments* the Motive of their Conduct, are not the others equally blameable for making *Personal Enmity* that of their Opposition? But this Author, or his Friends, or the Cabal, will object the *Pretender's* and his Family's fatal Enmity to this Country. Can it be greater than what they for Twenty Years together imputed to the late Minister? The *Jacobites* are unjustifiable for carrying on Intrigues, which are commonly so silly, that they are Matter of Laughter rather than Resentment, in favour of a particular Person; but the new Ministry-Men are Patriots for pushing their Opposition to a particular Person

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so far, that it endanger'd his Majesty's Person and Government. How shameful is this Reasoning? How does it, upon the very Face of this Pamphlet, justify every Degree of Opposition, nay, Detestation to the Principles and Measures of the Apostate's?

The same Sessions, *viz.* January 25, An honourable Gentleman, who is now in the Ministry, moved for the Instructions given to our Minister in *Poland* in 1729, to be laid before the House.* As the Arguments made use of in this Debate were pretty much the same with those made use of on both Sides on the like Questions, I shall only trouble my Reader with a remarkable Doctrine laid down by our Patriot on this Occasion. After abusing a certain Gentleman *personally* for writing a Pamphlet against the Opposition, he came to talk of the then Circumstances of the Nation; he then talked of the Expediency and Justice of the Motion, and said, 'That tho' Papers were refused by a Majority of Parliament, it wou'd not have any Weight with the Nation. I know, *continued he*, it is not allowable to say any thing against what is done by a Majority of this House; but there are certain Methods of Speaking, which are not against Order, and which might, notwithstanding, make Gentlemen feel, that an Answer cou'd be given, even to that *unanswerable Argument of its having been done by a Majority. I have known in former Parliaments most scandalous Things done by a corrupt Majority; any Thing being done or resolved on, even by a Majority of this House, will not make it right, or convince the Nation that it is so.*' I cou'd defy the most sanguine Advocate for Power to give any one Instance of Disaffection, or, if they will, Dissatisfaction, in the Gentlemen in the present Opposition, equal to the Doctrine which is broach'd in this Speech. Can even the Author of *Faction detected* pretend to say, that

* *Pag.* 105.

that the most forward Leader of the present Opposition, ever set up his Standard against the very Authority of Parliaments, which undoubtedly consists in a Majority of their Numbers? Is there now an Instance of Opposition, that has not been confined to the Persons and Measures of M—rs? Or is there a Possibility of conceiving an Argument in favour of the most upright Constitution and Measures, which may not be answer'd by this way of Reasoning? Has it not been a Doctrine inculcated ever since the grand *Apostatism*, That the Majority of Parliament is infallible; That the People without Doors, *viz. the Nation*, have no Business to meddle with Affairs of State? ‘What ridiculous Vanity is this, says the Author of * Faction detected, and what Folly to imagine, that Men, who have no Interest in the State, but the Profits of their daily Labour, should be more anxious for the Well-being of their Country, than those who have vast Properties to take Care of, who *really feel the Burthens*, which are but imaginary upon the rest, (because, in the Nature of Things, they cast off the Load of all Public Charges from themselves upon the Rich, by an Advance both of the Price of their Commodities and Labour) and who alone sustain all the Taxes of the Nation, whose Lands are saddled directly or indirectly with the whole Expence!’ This Doctrine is so barefacedly infamous, that it wou’d be taxing my Readers with Insensibility, shou’d I pretend to point out every Contradiction and slavish Tenet it contains. It is sufficient, therefore, to take Notice, that these are the Arguments made use of in every enslaved Country to bring and to keep the People in a State of Servitude and passive Obedience, not only in Civil but Religious Matters.

Hoc Ithacus velit, & magno mententur Atridae.

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It is saying in other Words, that the People of *England*, in their collective Capacity, have neither Interest in observing, Right in examining, nor Judgment in censuring, the Conduct of their Governors. That if the Government had a Mind, at one Blow, and by one decisive Vote, to strike off all their Liberties, it wou'd be their Duty to submit, because they *have no Interest in the State*. But this Author ought to remember that all Taxes, all heavy Impositions, equally affect the Poor as the Rich; the Money'd as the Landed Interest. He ought to remember, that his own infamous Doctrine is a staring Contradiction to his own Argument. For the People of this Island are of two Sorts, *viz.* They who possess Landed Estates, and they who don't. Upon the former all Taxes *more immediately* fall, but intermediately equally upon the latter: The Money'd Interest *immediately* contributes less to Taxes and the Support of the Government than even the *Labourers*, and the *Mechanics*; and yet it is notorious, nay, I believe it will not be disputed even by this vain Scribe of the Faction, nor by his Friends, that the Measures, both of the late and present A ——— n, were supported in the House of C ——— ns chiefly, almost solely, by the Gentlemen of Money'd Interest. If, therefore, they who live by the Profits of their *Daily Labour*, *have no Interest in the State*, because they don't feel the Burthen of supporting it; what Interest ought they to have in it, whose whole Business is a little daily Labour amongst Exchange-Brokers, at public Offices, in the Rise and Fall of Stocks, and *Lottery Tickets*? Do such Men, whose Estates are now liable to no Tax, pay in the hundredth Degree of Proportion to their Property, the same as a Merchant, a Tradesman, or a Mechanic, to the Support of the Government? And yet were not, are not those the Men, who have the greatest Share in the domestic Success which all the Measures of the late

late and present M——y have met with? But perhaps I have done too much Honour to this infamous Doctrine, by taking so much Notice of it.

I cannot, however, help putting the Public in Mind of one Thing, which will serve as a ready and an unanswerable Reply to all the Insolence of the *H——n* Herd, when they talk in the Strain of this *Germaniz'd* Author, in the Passage we have been examining. The People of *England* have had individually, tho' not possess'd of Estates either in Land or the Stocks, more Property than any equal Number of People in the World; and they look upon themselves thereby entitled to judge of the Measures of Government, in proportion as they feel their Property affected by them. This is an infallible Rule for judging, because *Interest never lies*. But the People of *England* have another Possession besides that of Property, which no People now under the Sun perhaps can boast of but themselves, I mean that of *Liberty*. To this they are entitled as much as the greatest Courtier is to his Estate; and their Concern for the Preservation of this, has made them at all Times, and, I hope, ever will make them jealous of the Measures of their Governors. They know that it is their Liberty alone that secures their *Right and Property*, and that where the Right is not secur'd, the Enjoyment of it is but short-liv'd and precarious. They know and can distinguish, that an implicit Acquiescence in the Measures of a M——y, supported by a corrupted interested Majority, is not only contrary to the Spirit of Liberty, and the Principles of this Constitution, but must unavoidably lead them blindfold to the Brink of Destruction, and perhaps irretrievably plunge them into Slavery and Misery. It is the Conviction of all this which has induc'd the Individuals of this Nation, always, and under all Governments, to assert their Privileges of enquiring into, nay, of blaming public Measures, if they

thought them ruinous to their Interest and that of their Country : It is this which has united them so often in the glorious and successful Opposition of arbitrary Government ; the truest Test of which is, their endeavouring to broach and to propagate those very Doctrines which are contained in the Pamphlet we are now examining. But to return to the present Subject of these Sheets.

This Session was fruitful of several extraordinary Debates with regard to the Army. In that of the Committee upon its Augmentation, the Words of Mr. * * were so signal, that they ought to be kept as an eternal Answer to all the stale, ridiculous Pretences for keeping up a Number of Forces on Account of any Invasion from Abroad. The Motion being made in the usual Terms of *Fears of Invasion* and *all that*, by a Gentleman who had the Salary of Paymaster-Deputy to the Army ; our Patriot answered his Reasoning, ‘ Have we not, *said he*, 12,000 Men in *Ireland*, from whence we may call home as many as we please upon any Emergency ? Has not this been done in former Times ? Besides, can we not call for Troops from *Holland*, whenever we have Occasion for any such ? Has not this likewise been formerly done ? We know that by Treaties the *Dutch* are obliged to furnish us with 10,000 Men, if we should be attack’d by any Power in *Europe*, and at their own Expence too. The Gentleman spoke likewise of the Disposition of Quarters, and the Difficulty of getting a Number of Men together upon any Emergency. Sir, I have had the Honour to serve in that Office, as well as the Honourable Gentleman; and I never knew a Disposition of Quarters so made, but that almost all the Troops in *Great Britain* could be got together, by regular Marches, Time enough to oppose any Enemy that cou’d come against us, unless they were to drop from the Clouds : I cannot comprehend from whence Gentlemen imagine such Troops shou’d
be

be sent against us ; Must they not march from their several Quarters to the Sea-Coast of that Country from whence they are to come ? Must they not have a Fleet of Ships to transport them, and a fair Wind to bring them to this Island ? Will not this take up Time, and that enough to give us an Opportunity of assembling our Forces ? This really, Sir, seems to me to be raising Phantoms in the Air, in order to find Pretences for loading the People of *England* with Taxes.'

As this Reasoning is not founded upon accidental Circumstances, but built upon Principles which must continue the same while *Great Britain* continues to be an Island ; how long it may continue so in a political Sense, or whether some Gentlemen have not already join'd it to the Continent, is not yet my Business to enquire.

In the same Debate we meet with the following memorable Sentiments, which if applicable to an Army of 18000 Men, the Number then proposed, how much more applicable are they to upwards of 70000, the Number which *Great Britain* now has in Pay ! ' We all know, *said he*, what Jealousies and Fears the People have entertained at the continuing of this Army, during the last Years of perfect Peace and Tranquility, both at Home and Abroad ; and if that Measure should be again attempted when those Days of Peace return, every Man must then conclude, that that Army is kept up, not for defending ourselves against a foreign Enemy, but for the Safety of those who have rendered themselves odious to the People, and for defending them against the Resentment of an injured and plundered Nation : If this should ever happen to be our unfortunate Condition, the People would certainly make a Struggle for the Preservation of their antient Constitution.—This will *certainly* be the Case.—I know it must be the Case.' — Such
are

are the Sentiments of Mr. ** the Patriot. Let us now examine a little into those of Mr. ** the P—r.

As to his Arguments relating to an Invasion which he so justly ridicul'd, I find the Patriot fully refuted by the P—r.

‘ Will this Nation, *says the abovementioned Pamphlet*, be seduced to such a Point as not to see—
 ‘ That Maritime Power is precarious, *necessarily*
 ‘ divided *often*, and capable of changing from one
 ‘ State to another, when protected only by itself;
 ‘ —That the Expence of it, all our Histories shews,
 ‘ that the utmost Care of the most numerous Squadrons cannot secure us against being insulted, nay,
 ‘ even actually invaded ; That such Invasions have
 ‘ never failed to put us to great Expence, and have
 ‘ always given us great Alarms, and sometimes
 ‘ proved successful ; That we have rarely wanted
 ‘ a Faction at any Time, to back and abet Attempts of this Nature, nor that from the Nature
 ‘ of our Government we ever shall ; and that when
 ‘ they were thus back'd and thus abetted, they
 ‘ hardly ever failed of their Design ?’ If we reduce the whole of this Proposition to the Test of Logick, I don't know how the Right H—ble Author and Patron of the Doctrine can reconcile it to Reason or Sense.

Invasions have *sometimes* prov'd successful :

But Invasions have *rarely* wanted a Faction to support them ; and

When they had a Faction to support them, they hardly ever failed of their Design.

I may appeal to the candid Reader whether I do this Author any Wrong, whether these Propositions don't literally arise from his own Words ; and whether any of the Ministerial Hacks, who so often used to stir his Indignation, ever vented such a String of absurd Inconsistencies.

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But it were pardonable if his Defects lay in Language or Reasoning only ; his Judgment has happily betrayed him into blundering out the Secret of the Cabal, which is, That this Nation must *for ever* be subjected to the Curse of a Standing Army ; a Secret which no abandon'd Tool of the late M——r ever yet had the Confidence to avow. But before I proceed to the Particulars of this Charge, I must put the Reader in Mind of another round Assertion contained in the above Quotation. He there lays it down, That the Nature of our Government is such, as that there must ever be a Faction in this Kingdom ready to abet and back every Invasion : That Invasions when thus back'd have hardly ever fail'd of Success. As this is the true Sense of his Words, what is the Consequence which every Man of common Understanding will draw from them, but that the Nature of our Government (that is, our Constitution) wants new modelling, otherwise it will be always in the Power of a Faction to facilitate the Success of every Attempt made by Foreigners upon this Nation. Now what other Means are there of preventing this dismal Consequence of Faction, but augmenting the Power of the Crown, nay, making them arbitrary ; for there is no other Power can crush the *Existence of Faction*, tho' they may its *Effects* : This is not obscurely hinted in the Performance now before us, but in a very extraordinary Manner.

* ‘ Is it to be forgot (*says his Lordship*) how since
 ‘ that Time (*viz.* the Revolution) many Descents
 ‘ have taken Effect, (*that is a Lye; not one has ;*)
 ‘ when our Navy was in its Zenith, and those of
 ‘ other Powers at their lowest Ebb? — If we have
 ‘ not forgot all this, we must be mad to think,
 ‘ that *at any Time*, or in *any Situation*, this Nation
 ‘ can, with Security, alone confide in their Naval
 ‘ Force’. If, therefore, there can be *no Time* and

no Situation in which this Nation can confide in their naval Force alone, she must *at all Times*, and *in all Situations*, confide in her Military Force; and if so, does not a Standing Army become a Part of this Constitution, and necessary for preserving it? And can there possibly be a Time when it is not necessary? A Doctrine which the late M——r, in all the *Plenitude of Power*, nor his Creatures in all their *Insolence of Office*, were so far from once attempting to introduce, that they often employed their whole Eloquence to disclaim it. We shall now go on, in the Course of our Observations of our Patriot's Conduct.

On *February 13*, upon the Reading of the Mutiny-Bill, a very extraordinary Motion was made by a noble Lord, *viz.* ‘ That Leave might be given
 ‘ to bring in a Bill for the better securing the Con-
 ‘ stitution, by preventing the Officers, not above
 ‘ the Rank of Colonels of Regiments of such Land-
 ‘ Forces as shall at any Time be allow’d by Parlia-
 ‘ ment, from being depriv’d of their Commissions,
 ‘ otherwise than by Judgment of a Court-Martial,
 ‘ to be held for that Purpose, or by Address of ei-
 ‘ ther House of Parliament.’

This Motion, whether design’d in jest or earnest the Reader may judge, was occasioned by the Removal of several very great Officers of the Army, upon their Behaviour at the Time the Excise-Scheme was in Agitation. The Motion was opposed upon the general Principle of not reducing the Prerogative, which was too much reduced already; and the Expressions of Mr. * * upon that Occasion deserve the Public Notice. ‘ Gentlemen, *said he*, talk of invading the Prerogative, as if it were a most heinous Thing to lessen in any Degree that which *they* call Prerogative; but this has been already answered by a worthy Gentleman (meaning his Friend, the present C——r of the E——r) who justly said, that *the Prerogative has been*
growing

‘ growing ever since the Revolution, and it is certain
 ‘ that it is daily gaining Ground both in this House
 ‘ and the other. The Power of the Crown, conti-
 ‘ nued he, every Member of this House, as well as
 ‘ the other, ought always to be jealous of. For,
 ‘ what by Creations and Translations, it may at
 ‘ last grow so great as entirely to overturn that
 ‘ Ballance upon which our Constitution depends.’
 To this Patriot-Reasoning, let me oppose the Words
 of the Author of *Faction detected*. * ‘ Whoever,
 ‘ says he, will take Pains to look back upon the
 ‘ Condition of our former Government, and will
 ‘ reflect, as he ought to do, upon those Laws and
 ‘ Acquisitions, (and many more there are, all tend-
 ‘ ing in some Degree to the same Improvement,)
 ‘ and any Man who will weigh what we have al-
 ‘ ready explained, as to the Power of the Crown
 ‘ in its Civil List, in its Employments, or in its
 ‘ Prerogative; if he really means nothing but to
 ‘ preserve this Constitution, must confess, that the
 ‘ Liberty and Property of this Nation never stood,
 ‘ in any Period of Time, upon so strong a Basis,
 ‘ repair’d in every Breach that Time had made,
 ‘ fortify’d with additional Pillars of prodigious Se-
 ‘ curity, and every Day increasing in Solidity, by
 ‘ the Effect of Laws, which, from the Course of
 ‘ Time and Nature, must take place in a few
 ‘ Years.

‘ From these Reflections it does really appear,
 ‘ that Men betray their Ignorance in the most gross
 ‘ Manner, when they talk in that unmeaning Cant,
 ‘ of the Necessity of bringing back our Constitu-
 ‘ tion to its first Principles, so much the Fashion in
 ‘ these Times; for I defy the ablest Man in *Eng-
 ‘ land* fairly to give an Instance of any Period in
 ‘ this Government, where the Power of the Crown
 ‘ stood upon lower, or the Liberty of the Subject
 ‘ upon higher Ground, than it does at this Day.’

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So impudent a Defiance, I believe, never was thrown out in the Face of Truth, Experience, and a sensible People as the above is: Nay, if Defiances were Arguments, I would venture to defy this infamous *H——* to bring ten People in *England*, besides half a Dozen or a Dozen of his own Cabal, to second his Defiance. Don't we know that the Civil List Revenue, tho' it is greater than ever was known, is but a small Part of the Means of acquiring Power which the Crown has now in its Hands. Has this Author provided one single Instance of the *real* Prerogative, I mean that Part of the Prerogative which creates an Influence in Parliament being retrenched since the Revolution? Cannot we bring numberless Instances wherein it has been unmeasurably increased since that Period? Has not this Scribe meanly and scandalously sunk this great, this fatal Truth? Has he spoken a Word of the *Riot Act*, which is so plainly in Favour of the Crown, that were the Nation to be again under (which Heaven avert) the melancholy Necessity of another Revolution, cou'd we suppose her Dangers and Provocations ten Times greater than it was at the Time of the late Revolution? I say, cou'd we suppose all this, the *Riot Act* makes it absolutely impossible for her to work out her Deliverance *now*, by the same Means she did *then*. Does it not erect every Mercenary Justice, every Scoundrel Excise or Custom-House Officer, whose very Being *depends* upon the Breath of the meekest Tool which *depends* upon the Crown, into a Bastard; and gives them a Power over the Lives and Liberties of their Fellow Subjects? Has this Author taken any Notice of the prodigious acquired Power of the Crown, by Means of a large Standing Army, that eternal Fund of Gratuities for Pensionaries and P——tary Mercenaries? He will reply to this, That this is a Prerogative which the Crown always had. Yes, it always had it, but
how?

how? It had the Power of appointing before the Revolution the Officers of five or six Thousand Men at most, *which were kept up by Parliament*; but what is that to the Commissions for an Army of 50,000, which we now pay upon the *British* and the *Irish* Establishments? Has this candid Scribe taken any Notice of the Disposal of upwards of two Million of Money, which the Crown has for the discharging the Interest of the National Debts? This single Article alone is worth more, and gives greater Weight and Strength to the Prerogative, than twenty sham chimerical Powers which it has been nominally deprived of since the Revolution. The dangerous Part of the Prerogative never was given up by the People, even before the Revolution, when the Influence of the Tory Doctrine was the strongest; and the Acts which this Writer pretends to be accessional to the Liberty of the Subject never were meant, they never were intended for other than explanatory of what the Subject before that Period had always contended to be his Birth-Right. But after all, what is *Prerogative*, but an empty Sound without *Power*? And what may not *Power* effect without that empty Sound? Is it not notorious that this very Year, while the noble Scribe had the Pen in his Hand writing this infamous Pamphlet, the Crown has the Management, it has the Disposal of ten Millions of the Publick Money? I shall suppose the Crown to be only the Steward of three Millions of that Money; but as the Stewardship is for Life, where is the Difference betwixt it and an absolute Property? Yes, it may be said, but then the Crown cannot appropriate that Money. No, but there are a great many pretty Gratuities arising out of the Distributions of, out of the *Poys* *which it creates*, and the *Dependencies it effects*; and then the absolute Property which it has in six Millions besides, raised for its own immediate Purposes, gives the Crown of *England* now more actual Influence

fluence in the Nation, than the utmost Stretch of *Prerogative*, claimed by the highest of our Princes, ever could have communicated : But this is so palpable that it would be almost Impudence to pretend to prove it. The Reader then may judge of the Candour of this Author, and what the Fruits of *H——nism* will be, when its Spring gives us such an Earnest. I cannot however leave this Subject without taking Notice of another mean Piece of Diffimulation, which is, to be sure, as much below the Character of a Gentleman, as it is inconsistent with that of an *Englishman*. In enumerating the Advantages * which the Subject has received from the present blessed M——ry, he mentions an Act pass'd the first Session of the present Parliament, for the farther Limitation of Place-men in the House of Commons : But he does not tell what the Subject gained by that Act, nor in what Manner it pass'd. In the first Place, all we have got, is the excluding about a Dozen Officers, who now sit in P——t. But we should admit this to be somewhat ; but when are they to be excluded ? Not till near seven Years after it pass'd into a Law, which is the natural Term of a Man's Life ; and gives thole whom it may affect Time enough to do all the Mischief they wish or intend ; nay, an Opportunity of either setting it entirely aside, or of concerting Means to make it of no Effect : One or other of which Cases he saw actually happen to every material Clause of the *Act of Succession*, thro' the Delay of its Commencement. The *Act of Succession*, in the Nature of Things, could not commence sooner than it did : But give me Leave here to ask this modest ingenuous Author, by what Means the boasted Bill he speaks of came to have so distant a Commencement ? If it is a bad Bill (as he in Effect says it is) why was it pass'd into a Law ? If it is a good one, it could not commence

too soon ; as it is calculated to obviate not a distant but an actually existing Evil : If such a Bill is at all necessary or expedient, it can be so only from the Greatness and Urgency of the Mischief it is meant to prevent. To pass such a Bill against Mischief's distant seven Years hence is ridiculous, and in Effect, an Indulgence of the Evils now so sensibly felt by the People. But how did this happen ? Not surely from the Cause to which our *Germaniz'd* Scribe imputes the Impunity of the E. of O — d, and the defeating all the excellent Intentions of his Patriot Statesmen : For he may remember he was in the House when it was pushed that it should commence *immediately*, or at least before the next Session. Who opposed this ? Let him answer that Question if he dares. Did not his own Friends, before they were well warm in their Places, stand up and harangue in the very Language and Terms of the late M — ry against its immediate Commencement ? Did not they oppose its Commencement till after this Parliament was over ? And was it not visible to every Gentleman in the House, that they would have knocked it in the Head entirely, had it not been that the short Time they were then in Office, with a few glimmering Hopes of being able to retain their old Friends, made them very cautious of disobliging and irritating the People by a barefaced Opposition to it ? Was not this evident when a more effectual Bill to the same Purpose was brought in the next Session of P — — t ? When the new M — ry-Men stood up and spoke against it with all their Lungs and Eloquence ? And did not an Honourable Gentleman answer a Right Hon — ble M — r, who had the Honour of succeeding to the late M — r's Post in the E — — r, by repeating the Speech which the latter had made some Years ago when he brought in the very same Bill ; and was so zealous for it, that he would not wait the usual Form for preparing it for and bringing it

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into the House? But of this shameful Step enough.

The noble Lord's Motion which we took Notice of about the Officers of the Army having miscarried, another (which the former Motion was meant to introduce) was made by the Right H—ble M——r I last hinted at: “ That an humble
 “ Address be presented to his Majesty, humbly to
 “ desire his Majesty, that he would be graciously
 “ pleased to inform this House, by whose Advice
 “ it was that his Majesty was pleased to discharge
 “ his Grace *Charles Duke of Bolton*, and the Right
 “ Honourable *Richard Lord Viscount Cobham*,
 “ from the Regiments lately under their several
 “ Commands, and what Crimes were alledged
 “ against them which were the Occasion thereof.”

Our Patriot, who seconded this Motion, acknowledged, that the former Motion was only a Preliminary to this one. He said, ‘ That as the King can never be presum'd to do wrong, it was therefore right to agree to this Motion; and farther that whoever gave the Advice, it was a wicked one.’ But as no Usage cou'd provoke the M——l Gentlemen to an Answer, Sir *William Wyndham* was the only Member who spoke in the Debate besides; upon the Question the Motion was reported by a great Majority. The Reader will, no doubt, at this Juncture make very proper Reflections upon the Decency and Expediency of this Motion; and he may figure in his Mind the Behaviour of the same Gentlemen in Case a like Motion shou'd be made upon a like Occasion next Sessions. But I can't here help throwing out one Observation, That it is very little Difference whether an Officer is actually removed from his Post, or receives such Treatment, and meets with so many Indignities as that he can't continue in it with Honour. The latter is undoubtedly the more provoking Conduct of the two; and if this Usage is given an Officer who is at the Head of an Army, and answerable for the
 Management

Management of it, it is still a more aggravating Circumstance : And yet the above Motion was made and seconded by Men who now blush not at saying, * That Men cannot deny that Prerogative was reduc'd, and *the Constitution restor'd by the Revolution* ; they will not venture to do this, because the Falsehood would be too glaring.

The next great Question in this expiring Parliament, was *Feb. 26*, when Mr. S——s moved to have his favourite Place-Bill *committed*, for limiting the Number of Place-men in the House of Commons, in order to secure the Freedom of Parliament ; which, by their Doctrine in their Pamphlet, *is too free already*. As the Arguments for this Bill are in every Body's Hands and Mouth ; and as there never, perhaps, was a Point which is so universally agreed upon by all Degrees of People, excepting Ministerial Hirelings alone, it is needless for me to resume them here. But the Public will judge what a Farce was acting when this Bill was with such seeming Zeal and Earnestness contending for, by Men who have since fairly own'd, ' § That we have already all the Laws that the Wisdom of Man can invent to lessen the Operation of the Power of the Crown *in that way*. If these Laws are not effectual, there is too much Reason to fear, that the Remedy is beyond the Power of Law, and that the Evil must arise from the Ambition which is incident to the Nature of all popular Governments, and to the Opulence of this Country.'

On *March 13*, A Motion was made in a very full House, for repealing the Septennial-Act, and a very long Debate ensued, in which the Arguments for the Motion had an evident Superiority over those against it. Our Patriot and his Friends distinguished themselves in a peculiar Manner ; and there is somewhat so extremely applicable to the Doctrine of the Pamphlet I have been examining in
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the Words of our Hero upon this Question, that I can't help thinking he spoke them with a Prophetic Foresight of his own and his Friend's Administration.

‘ Faction and Sedition, Sir, *said he*, are two Words that have always been made use of by the Advocates for arbitrary Power, in order to induce the People to give up the Privileges upon which their Liberties depended ; or to divert them from reasuming or vindicating those which had been before foolishly given up or unjustly usurp'd or taken from them : But it is to be hoped those two hideous Words will never in this Country have their desir'd Effect.’ What Opinion can Posterity entertain of a Party which espoused such Principles as these, and immediately upon their coming into the Places of those whom all this Virulence was levelled at, trump'd up the very Words they had taken all this Pains to ridicule and censure.

* ‘ As in all populous Countries, *says the Author of Faction detected*, from a Variety of Distresses such Objects must be very numerous, (*viz.* they who oppose the Government thro' the Judgment of their own Circumstances) so from the very Numbers of a People alone, *Faction* always derives a great Advantage, since from the Difference of Dispositions with which Men are born into the World, some will infallibly arise from Time to Time, framed by Nature itself of a restless and discontented Temper ; form'd, whether they have Cause for it or not, to be as well a Torment to themselves, as a Plague to the Society in which they live.—Nor can Opposition, right or wrong, want even Property to gild it over and to grace it.—From whence the Observation holds most true, That all Nations, in Proportion to their Increase, grow turbulent and factious.’ The foregoing Observations are neither founded upon *Truth*, the *Nature*

ture of Things, nor the Experience of Mankind, yet they are the very Arguments used by Power against Opposition of every Sort. They are transcribed from the Mouths of the late A ——— —n, which never failed upon any popular Question to tell the House, that the Nation was too rich, that Riches made them factious, and that the Opposition to the Ministry was no more than had happened under the best and mildest Administration that had ever been in *England*. But is *Fact* the same Thing with *Imagination*? Is *suffering* the same Thing with *Wantonness*? Is it not *Fact*, that half of the Country of *England* is now desolate thro' the Exorbitancy of Taxes? Is it not *Fact*, that our Manufactures are almost quite ruined? That in many Places, in which not many Years ago the Rents were as well paid as any where in *England*, Landlords would be glad to sell their Estates to any one who will pay the Taxes they are rated at? Is it not *Fact*, that even since the late Change of M ——— rs, the Trade and Navigation of G ——— B ——— n has been neglected to a more scandalous Degree than they were even in the worst Times of the last Ad ——— —n? This Author therefore must prove, that there is no Room for these Complaints, before he launches out into the Common-Places of all the Advocates for Power. He must prove that we are the rich, flourishing, powerful People he supposes us to be, before he charges us with the Spirit of *Faction* and *Sedition*. But enough of these shameful Tergiversations, wherein Men cannot move one Step without branding themselves in the Forehead with the worst of Epithets.

A Message having been sent from the Crown this Session to enable his Majesty to augment his Forces, a very strong Debate ensued. Our Patriot did not speak till towards the Close of it; when he rose up, and said, in Answer to some Ministerial Arguments, ‘ For God’s Sake, Sir, are we eternally

nally to be the Dupes of *Europe*? If the Emperor, or any other Power neglects to keep their fortify'd Places in a proper Posture of Defence, must we answer for that Neglect? Are we, for the Sake of preserving the Ballance of Power in *Europe*, to undertake, at our own Charges, to defend every Power in *Europe*, and to prevent their being invaded or conquered by any of their Neighbours? Such Arguments, Sir, I should think ridiculous if made use of for persuading us to make the least additional Expence; but they are much more so when they are the only Arguments made use of for prevailing with us to make a total Surrender of our Liberties. Surely, Gentlemen must think this House mighty ready to resign the Liberties of their Country, when they make such Propositions, and support them by such Arguments?

Such was the Way of talking of our Hero upon a petty Demand, which, perhaps, in the then Situation of Publick Affairs, was necessary and right: But how have we seen this Reasoning inverted since that Time? We have seen the Nation brought to support an Interest no Way related to it, at the Expence of six Millions of Money; at the Expence of hazarding her very Liberties, by taking into her Pay near thirty Thousand Mercenaries; at the Expence of all the Rules of common Prudence, which remonstrate against her laying her last Stake upon a Chance, in which she has every Thing to lose and nothing to gain: Nay, have we not seen that even the Men who were so forward to push the Power of the Crown in the late A———n to the greatest Height, boggle at these Measures as too big, too extravagant for the Nation to swallow, whatever the P———t might do? I say, have we not seen those Men outbid in their Terms; and those Undertakers who opposed before the smallest Measures of that Kind, boldly step in, and at one Plunge expose the Publick, and its Liberties, to
greater

greater Dangers, greater Difficulties, than she had ever experienced during the twenty Years A ———n of a hated and an obnoxious M ———r? We see Mr. * * could rail at our being at an inconsiderable Charge (the Whole, I think, not amounting to 200,000 Pound, in Favour of the Emperor) yet we have seen the ——— of ——— and his Friends voting away Millions of Pounds, and Thousands of Livres in Favour of the E ———r's Daughter. Does the Author, so often quoted, give one Instance by which G ——— B ———n can receive one Shilling of Benefit from all this Expence of Blood and Treasure? No, he builds all upon an empty ridiculous trite Maxim, that the House of *Austria* must be supported. But is not the House of *Austria* now as able to support itself as it was in the Time of the late Emperor. A great deal more so, even by the Confession of these Gentlemen themselves, since they admit that its Enemies are greatly reduced: Nay, can they produce any real Service that all our immense Armaments have done to this favourite House, more than it had actually before received from our pecuniary Subsidies? None. But enough of this.

The first Session of the next Parliament, which opened *January* 14, 1734-5, was ushered in by a Speech from the Throne, which gave the Parliament no Manner of Satisfaction as to the then State of Affairs; nay, which left them more in the Dark than before. An Amendment being proposed to the Address upon this Speech, a strong Debate followed, in which our Guarantee of the *Pragmatic Sanction* was treated very *Cavalierly* by Mr. * * and his Friends. There was one Passage in our Patriot's Speech which I can't forbear recommending to the Consideration of my Reader, since it anticipated great Part of the Objection, which has been since so pertly made to his and his Friends favourite Conduct of entering into an expensive

Land-War, and taking the whole Burthen of it upon our own Shoulders. ‘ The Ballance of Power in *Europe*, said he, is certainly of as much Consequence to other Nations as it is to this; and when it comes to be really in Danger, it is not to be questioned but that we shall find other Powers as ready to join with us as we are to join with them, for its Preservation: And unless we shew too much Readiness to bear all Expence, it is also certain, that those who are in equal Danger will never refuse to bear their proportionable Share of the Expence. *But if ever this Nation should put itself up as the Don Quixote of Europe, we may then expect that most of the Powers of Europe, who are not immediately attack'd, will heave the whole Burthen upon us; and this I am afraid is too much the Case at present.*’ Aye, and indeed so it is. For there is not a Syllable of this prophetic Speech which has not been *fully and literally* verified by the Conduct of our new Mi——ry, in the Share which we have taken in the Affairs of *Germany*, if it can be called a Share, where we are in Effect at *the whole Expence*. The Ballance of Power is not a Thing which is to be *peculiarly* guarded by us. No, the very Nature and Term of a Ballance implies, that it must regard all the Weight which is in either of the Scales. The Ballance of Power, when the *French* had over-run the Queen of *Hungary*’s Dominions, was, we were told, in Danger. Supposing it was, whose Duty and whose Interest most immediately was it to recover it? *Great Britain* was the last Nation in *Europe* that could ever have suffer’d by it. The *Dutch* might have suffer’d *immediately*; the Empire of *Germany* might have suffer’d *immediately*; the Electors might have suffer’d *immediately*; the Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark* might have suffer’d, if not *immediately*, yet not *very remotely*: In short, there is not a People upon the Continent who would not have found the Calamity
before

before it could have reached *Great Britain*. Yet we did not see one of these our Neighbours, who were to be so immediately affected by this Overthrow as the Ballance of Power, stir a Foot in its Defence. They imagined that it either was not intended to be overthrown by *France*, or that the Queen of *Hungary* alone, with a little pecuniary Assistance, was able to retrieve and maintain it. Perhaps they imagined, that had the *Eleſtor of Bavaria* ſucceeded in his Claims, he would have of himſelf been a ſufficient *Counterballance* to the Power of the Houſe of *Bourbon*. But whatever was in this, it is certain that we became the *Don Quixots* of *Europe* upon this Occaſion. We boldly took the Whole of the Expence and Danger upon ourſelves; and thereby made ourſelves Judges of our Neighbours Danger, which they either did not foreſee, or did not think themſelves concern'd to prevent. But we are taught other Leſſons of Politics by the ſagacious Author of *Faction Detected*, and that I may do him no Wrong, I ſhall give his own Words.

But I think it neceſſary to premiſe, that this wretched Author takes it all along for granted, that our preſent M——s are the Saviours of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and lays their great Merit in their reſcuing it from immediate Ruin, after being abandon'd by all the other Powers of *Europe*. This I ſay with him is the great Merit of the preſent M——ry; and, indeed by his Reasoning, they can have no other Merit; for the Whole of his Charge againſt the late A——n conſiſts in the M——rs giving the Houſe of *Bourbon* too much Weight, and not ſupporting the Houſe of *Auſtria* in Time. Nay, he goes farther; and the Length he goes is ſo ridiculous, ſo falſe, and ſo fooliſh, that unleſs his own Words ſerved as Evidences, After-Ages could not believe there was a Man ſo infamouslly abandon'd to all Senſe of Reaſon and Virtue, as to
aſſert,

assert, * *That the Grand Criterion of both Parties, is of the Whigs to oppose the Growth of the Power of France, and of the Tories to advance the Interests of that Power.* The pushing for constitutional Securities he terms, † *an Indulgence in a Whig Opposition*; and therefore we may fairly conclude, that the Professions of the Party about *Public Spirit, Liberty, and all that*, have been used as Cloaks to cover and to palliate their Hatred of *France*, which we must humble, though we have not one Power in *Europe* to assist us. But this is a Digression from the Point I had in View, which is to prove, that these Gentlemen in Effect did not make the Opposition to *France* the great Criterion of their own Opposition, as this Hair-brain'd Author asserts. This we may perceive from the above Quotation from our Patriot's own Speech. Now let us see their later Declarations.

In the first Place, he lays against the present Opposition a Charge, which, if it is well founded, (as it shall be made appear that it is not) they must have borrowed from his own and his infamous Conduct, and that of his apostate Friends. The Charge is ‘ That they make it a Principle, to wean
‘ the People from their Affection to the House of
‘ *Austria*, to diminish their Apprehension, or to in-
‘ crease their Fears of the *French* Power, either just
‘ as Events should make it most convenient to do.
‘ To undermine the great and salutary Principle
‘ (*which, by the bye, is what our Patriot in the above*
‘ *Quotation from his Speech calls Quixotism*) of sup-
‘ porting a Ballance of Power upon the Continent, by
‘ Pretences of the Inability of the Nation, of the
‘ Folly of engaging in Wars, in which we proposed
‘ to make no Acquisition for ourselves, (*and what*
‘ *can be greater Folly?*) and of the Security of this
‘ Nation in its Maritime Force alone, let what
‘ would happen upon the Continent.’

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As this is the aggravated Charge upon the Gentlemen of the present Opposition with Regard to Foreign Affairs, by the Confession of this Apostate, let us now consider the Figure which Maxims, directly the reverse of this Charge, (even supposing it well founded) must make in the Nation. Supposing then the Apostate himself haranguing the People: *Gentlemen, you are to love the House of Austria better than your Limbs, Liberties and Lives, for it is through the House of Austria alone that you can enjoy all these Blessings, together with that of living under a Whig, Apostate, Unmask'd, Renegade A———n. You are, contrary to all common Sense and Evidence, always to suppose France in the Wrong, and upon the Catch to destroy you: You are to sell your Coats, you are to mortgage your Estates, you are to risk your Freedom in Support of a Thing called the Ballance of Power; but what kind of a Thing it is I don't know, any farther, than that by doing as I direct, you will thereby plague the Tories. You are to look upon yourselves as absolutely obliged to do all this, however great your own Pressures and Poverty may be; and you are to do it without the Prospect of the Advantage of one Shilling to yourselves: You are likewise to believe that your Fleet is not worth Two-pence for protecting you against a Foreign Force; and that therefore your only Safeguard, your only natural Defence, your only national Security, is your Standing Army.*

Thus this apostate Author, a prostitute Renegadoe, so much resembling himself as to deny that this is, in Effect, the Substance of the Doctrine contained in his Pamphlet, and that the Treatment he gives the Gentlemen in the Opposition, does not in every Page speak this to be his true and genuine Sense. As a Proof of this, I need but appeal to his own Words in several other Places; where he plainly lays it down, that we are to be the *Don Quixots* of all Europe, if we expect that we are to have

have either the *Dutch*, or any other People for our Sanction.

* ‘ The Form of the *Dutch* Government, says he, (speaking of the Juncture in which we commenced political Knight Errants) in particular made them slow to resolve ; (*though they had been pretending to be about resolving for two Years before*) and their Situation made desperate to engage, (*then they were very much in the Right not to resolve*) till they were sure of a solid Support.’ But what becomes of this Author’s shameful Argument, drawn at once from the Backwardness and Forwardness of the *Dutch*? Did the *Dutch* stir one Step, though their Armies had been long before augmented, and every Thing was in Readiness for them to declare as they should see it most for their Interest, till *Great Britain* had borne the Heat of the Day by her Money ; and the Queen of *Hungary*’s Forces had left the *Dutch* little else to do but be idle Spectators of her Conquests ?

† ‘ The King of *Sardinia* had heartily and generously stepped into the Breach, (*By-the-bye, this he did before the Change of our Ministry, therefore no Thanks to them*) but his Circumstances were, if possible, still more critical.’ What made them more critical now than they were at the Time of his heartily and generously stepping into the Breach ? I hope it was not his discovering, that the new M——y in less than three Months had found Means to make themselves more unpopular than the old one had done in twenty Years ; which made him insist upon ready Money before he would march one Step.

§ ‘ The Kings of *Prussia* and *Poland* neither could have stopp’d if they would, nor probably would if they could, and must have been hurried on where *France* should have directed, or where their own Ambition have invited ; if by the gathering of this Cloud

Cloud, a Storm had not been threatned from the Quarter of *Great Britain*, which might have created both Doubts and Terror as to the Event of this Quarrel; this was therefore the only Way to induce them to be more moderate and circumspect in their Proceedings. It was certain, that nothing less than this could sustain the drooping Spirits of the Queen of *Hungary*, and of her distress'd and faithful Subjects, in the desperate Condition to which they were reduced; it was therefore past all Doubt that if these Measures were not pursued, she must immediately accommodate with *France* upon any Terms; and that *France* having broken the only Power which could give her any Diversion in an Attempt upon *Great Britain*, would have been immediately at Liberty to have joined her whole Power with that of *Spain*, and to have given Law to us.'

Upon the whole of this Review it plainly appears, that we thought it was our Business, though the very last People in *Europe* whom such a Conjunction could affect, to concern ourselves in Matters that no other People in *Europe* thought they had any Thing to do with. But will this ridiculous Author pretend, while we declare ourselves the *Don Quixots* and *Drawcansfers* of *Europe*, that any Power will put themselves to the Trouble or Expence of opposing the Power of *France*, or any Encroachments which may endanger in any Respect the Liberties of *Europe*? If they did, they would prove themselves as *foolish* as we are *generous*. The *Dutch* have now a Hundred Thousand Land Forces, they lye nearer to the Danger, and more commodious for stepping in to the Assistance of the Queen of *Hungary*. If she really was upon the Brink of Destruction, why did they not stir, since they must have been the first to have suffered: If she had been ruined, their Fate must have been the next: If she had succeeded, they would have reaped the Advantage. Besides, as they lay contiguous, it had been easy to have slept in to her Assistance be-

fore her Affairs had grown desperate ; and a small Matter would have gone farther then to her Relief, than Millions did afterwards ? The Reason is plain, because they knew that we would save them both the Trouble and Expence, and prevent their being under a Necessity of breaking with *France*, by their taking Part with the Queen of *Hungary*. We had declared so upon the Change of the A—
—n ; it was in Effect the first Step we took, since they were sensible that our ferrying over 16000 Men to *Flanders* put us more than Half-Seas over in our embarking in the War. They knew that we had done too much to stop there ; and that we had done too little for us to hope, that if we did not do more, we could do nothing with any Effect. They thought that if they gave us the least Encouragement for what we did, we might enter a kind of a Claim upon them, as if it had been by this Advice we had entered so far into the Quarrel ; and that if they did not, or even seemed in some Measure to disapprove of it, that they were at Liberty to act according to Events. Upon this obvious Principle it was that they turned a deaf Ear to all our alluring Offers and Invitations ; nay, actually sent over a Memorial, disavowing all Concurrence in, or Approbation of, the Step of sending such an Army into the *Netherlands*. It happened that Things turned out just as they had foreseen. They lay by without taking one Step which could engage them, either as Accessaries or Principals. They waited till they saw the Turn of the War : They saw it turn in Favour of the Queen of *Hungary* : They saw the Danger, both immediate and distant, diverted from themselves by Means of our prodigious Armaments. They beheld us take a Body of Foreign Mercenaries into our Pay, which they looked justly upon, as doing what they must and ought to have done, had we been as inactive as they. They knew that the *French* had already
suffered

suffered too much from the Queen of *Hungary's* Arms, both in *Bohemia*, in *Bavaria*, and the Empire, for them to pretend to do any Thing against the *Dutch*; and that in Case the *French*, even supposing them successful, would take their Neutrality in good Part, and lay the Blame of all their Losses upon *G — t B — n*. In short, they were quite ballanc'd, and their Conduct was to be determined only by the Event. That this was their Intention, and that it was a wise Intention, is blabb'd out by the Apostate Author I have so examined, in the Lines immediately following those I last quoted. * ' This approaching Situation of our Affairs was but too visible; nor was it at all extravagant, or very remote to foresee that it would become much worse; that some of the Northern Powers might be induced to enter into her Views; and that even the *Dutch* would at length act as Instruments to the long premeditated Design of that dangerous People, to destroy the Religion, Laws, Liberties, and Commerce of this Nation.' But why are we to suppose that *Great Britain's* Ruin was what the *French* Court had principally in View? Were not the Queen of *Hungary* and the *Dutch* together, perhaps with a Prince or two in *Germany*, who were too powerful to suffer their Scheme to pass unopposed: I say were not all the Powers to be first demolished? How could the *French* expect to destroy our Religion, our Laws, Liberties and Commerce, while we had a Fleet at Sea which might bid Defiance to the united Maritime Power of all *Europe* this Instant? How could they hope to succeed but by an Invasion; supposing they had had Ships to have invaded us, by what Means could they have got together a sufficient Number of Troops down to their Sea Coasts for Embarkation, without our hearing any Thing of the Matter, and preventing their Design? And had

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they

* Ibid.

they landed with a small Number, that never could have answered their Purpose. Besides, what an awkward Compliment does this Writer pay to our good Allies the *Dutch*, whom he supposes would have lent their helping Hand to the *French* for our utter Ruin. Pray can we suppose that they would have done this, unless they had been first soundly drubb'd? And can we suppose, if they had seen themselves in the least Danger, that they would not have done somewhat, if not upon *our*, upon their own Account. But this Author gives us, in another Passage of this stupidly perplex'd Work, a Reason for our believing that the *French* must first subdue all the Continent, before they can, with any Probability of Success, attack *Great Britain*. * ' Will
 ' this Nation, *says he*, be seduc'd to such a Point as
 ' not to see, that when the *Romans* gained the uni-
 ' versal Empire upon the Continent, tho' in a much
 ' lower Condition in their Marine than *France* now
 ' is; the *Carthaginians*, the only State in *Europe*
 ' (*Who told his L—— p that the Carthaginians was*
 ' a European State?) potent in this Respect, were
 ' in the End destroyed' From this trite, yet mistaken Piece of History it appears, that the *Romans* cou'd not subdue the *Carthaginians* till they had got the universal Empire (as our blundering Author calls it) upon the Continent. And shall we be under Dread, that the *French* are able to do, what the *Romans* were not able to effect? Besides, if our Author had known so much of our History as a School Boy, he would have known, that the *Romans* acquired this Superiority not till after great Pains, great Expences, indetigable Application, and dear-bought Experience.

I shall now only touch upon that Part of the above Quotation which regards the Kings of *Poland* and *Prussia*. Now it is reasonably to be supposed, that neither his *Polish* nor *Prussian* Majesties
 are

are absolute Ideots ; and if they are not, how are we to imagine that they would have suffered *France* to have gain'd so destructive a Power in the Empire, as must very soon, nay, immediately, have terminated in their own Ruin ? If the Ambition of *France* has no Bounds, if her Designs are laid with tolerable Cunning or Judgment, (as I think it is allowed by our Author and his Friends that they are) we can't suppose, that after they had declared themselves the common Robbers of *Europe*, the above two Princes would have tamely assisted them in their Rapine ; or that *France* would have turned her Arms upon *Great Britain*, while she had two such powerful Princes at her Back. Their Apprehensions of *France* must have made them as jealous of that Power, nay more so, than ever they had been of the House of *Austria* ; and all the Favour they had to expect was, a little lengthning out of their Destruction, till the common Enemy had found a proper Opportunity of swallowing them up with the others. Nay, if the Aims of *France* had been so subversive of all the Rights of Equity and common Justice, can we imagine that the Emperor himself, any more than the Kings of *Poland* and *Prussia*, would have sat contentedly under her Tyranny, and have worn the splendid Livery of a *French* Emperor, in order to have qualified himself for the Golden Chain of a *French* Slave ? Must not the Powers of the *North* have been affected, and must they not have united in order to oppose the Storm ? Must not all this have happened before it had possibly been either in the Power or Inclination of *France* to have attacked *Great Britain* ? Nay, give me Leave to put the Question to any Man of common Sense, would they not have united for this Purpose, had they not very plainly seen from our Conduct, that we were officiously preparing to save them the Labour ? But to return to the Detail of our Patriot's Conduct.

I am

I am afraid of tiring out my Reader's Patience with a Repetition of the same Things, should I pursue our Patriot through all the Steps of his consistent Conduct this Session, some Part of it falling under the one or other of the Heads which I have already considered. Only I cannot help recommending the following Piece of Reasoning, which fell from our Patriot this Session, upon the Subject of our arming ourselves in Defence of the House of *Austria*, while the *Dutch* sat inactive, ' As to the Balance of Power, *said he*, it ought certainly to be preserved. In this, Sir, all the other Princes and States of *Europe* are as much, nay more nearly, concerned than we; therefore they ought to bear their Share of the Expence, and will certainly do so when they find it necessary. But if upon this Pretence we run ourselves into every Broil that happens in *Europe*, the *Dutch*, as well as the rest, will probably heave the whole Charge upon us; they will neglect providing in Time even for their own Defence, when they find us such Dupes, as to be ready upon all Occasions to make that Provision for them. Whether our late Preparations have given them any Ground to think so, I shall not pretend to determine; but as I look upon the *Dutch* to be a very wise People, I must either conclude that they think so; in which Case we ought not by any new Augmentation to encourage them in that Opinion, or I must conclude that the Balance of Power is not in any Danger: For though it could be supposed that the chief Magistrates in *Holland* were inclin'd to sacrifice the Interests or Safety of their Country, to their own Safeties, or their own little private Views; yet if the Balance of Power were in any Danger, the People would force them to join in the War. The Magistrates of that Republic are not protected either by Riot-Acts, or by regular Troops quartered in the very Bowels of
their

their Country, and therefore the People might, and certainly would force them to do their Duty, or would massacre them as they have done heretofore. For this Reason I am inclined to think that the Balance of Power is not yet in any Danger; and if the Balance of Power be not yet in any Danger, there was no Occasion for our being at any Expence on Account of the present War.

Does not this Extract give a full and a clear Answer to all the ridiculous Reasonings, which have since been urged, for our entering into a War without the Participation, nay, against the Consent of the *Dutch*, who were so far from thinking the Balance of Power in Danger, that they would not join, either the Queen of *Hungary*, or us, with a single Man, till the Success of the *Austrian* Arms, and our threatening Importunities prevailed with them, when all the Action of the Campaign was over, to send us a *Corps de Reserve*. Therefore as the above Set of Reasons are point blank against the Purpose of our entering upon a War on the same Account since that Time, I can't help submitting them to the Consideration of the Right Honourable Author I have so often mentioned, the next Time he reviews the following Paragraph.

‘ Our Ministers acted honestly and wisely (if
 ‘ they did give you the contrary Advice) *viz. Advising his M——y to enter into the Quarrel*
 ‘ *betwixt the Emperor and the Queen of Hungary*;
 ‘ and unless they had been of the Principles of that
 ‘ Faction which abandoned the *Catalonians*, made
 ‘ the separate Peace of *Utrecht*, sacrificed their Al-
 ‘ lies, and all the Advantages of the late War, the
 ‘ Glory, Interest, and good Faith of this Nation;
 ‘ and unless they had entertained the same View,
 ‘ the Preservation of the House of *Bourbon* for the
 ‘ Service of the Pretender, they could have given
 ‘ no other. If this Step had not been taken, by
 ‘ this Time indeed we should not have had an
 ‘ Army

‘ Army in *Flanders* ; nor would there have been a
 ‘ single Army in *Europe*, that could have ventur’d
 ‘ to have opposed the Views of *France*.’

If so, I should be glad to know what Business we had to take the Whole upon ourselves? This Author, with all the Fury of his Heart against the House of *Bourbon*, and the Pretender, has not yet made it appear, through all his voluminous Performance, that it was *Great Britain*’s Business to declare in this Affair before the *Dutch* ; nor that any one Article betwixt the two Powers of *Versailles* and *Munich* was concerted to the Prejudice of *Great Britain*. This he ought to have done before he had run out into all his strain’d, fulsome Invectives and Panegyricks. But to proceed in our View of the Consistency of our Patriot and his Friends.

In the next Session of Parliament, which met on *January* 1735-6 ; the King having hinted in his Speech, that he had ordered a considerable Reduction of his Forces to be made both by Sea and Land, it was taken Notice of by the Opposition ; and I remember our Patriot, and his Friends who are now in the A ——— n, zealously supported the Doctrine : That in order to give the Nation the due Relief propos’d by such a Reduction, it would be necessary to reduce whole Regiments, since the reducing a few private Men in a Regiment, and not whole Corps, kept up the same Number of Officers ; which was, in Effect, entailing an unnecessary and a dangerous Burthen upon the Nation : That the Advantage of reducing whole Regiments, was apparent to every Gentleman who should take the Trouble of making the Calculation : For by the Establishment of the Year before, a Marching-Regiment, consisting of 815 Men, cost the Public about 15,217 *l.* yearly, which would be just so much saved to the Public if that Regiment were reduced ; whereas if an equal Number of *Private Men only* be reduced, from that and other Regiments,

ments, there would be a saving to the Public of the Pay of so many private Men only, which in a Year amounts to but 7,427 *l.* from whence it is evident that by a Reduction of 8000 Men, made by reducing whole Regiments, the Public would save 149,369 *l.* a Year ; while a Reduction of the same Number of private Men saves but 7373,000 *l.* a Year : So that the Difference to the Public was a saving of 76,369 *l.* a Year. That tho' for the first Year or two one half of that Sum must nearly be furnished to Half-Pay Officers, yet these Gentlemen either dying, or being provided for in the Army in the Place of those who die, the Nation in a short Time would be greatly, if not wholly, eased of that Incumbrance.

Tho' the Gentlemen who have apostatiz'd in other Respects, have not yet had any Opportunity of discovering their Apostacy in this; yet I did not think it amiss to give them this refreshing Remembrance of their former Doctrines, as we may soon hope to see a considerable Reduction of the Forces now on Foot take Place.

A Motion having been this Year made by Mr. * * for referring the Estimate of the Navy to a secret Committee, a Debate ensued, in which our Patriot took Notice, That tho' the Estimate for the Navy are every Year laid upon the Table of the House, yet it was very hard for any Member, from any Perusal of them there, to ascertain whether all the Articles of Expences mentioned in them, were either necessary or expended ; or whether they may not be overcharged. He likewise took Notice, that no Gentleman could answer to his Constituents for loading them with extravagant and unnecessary Expences. Besides these Considerations, he compared the Nation to a Gentleman whose Estate is mortgaged, and who for that Reason has much more Reason for enquiring more narrowly into his Circumstances and Disbursements. ' This, Sir,

continued he, is our melancholy Case at present ; we cannot provide even for the current Service of the Year, without laying Hands upon that Revenue which was long since appropriated to the Payment of old Debts ; and therefore we ought not to approve of any Estimate, till we are thoroughly satisfied of the Necessity of every Article. It is well known, Sir, *said he farther*, that we have had of late several new Offices erected, new Posts established, and new Salaries granted, any of which are a Charge upon the public Revenue ; and whatever may be the Case as to those new Officers, I believe upon a proper Enquiry it will be found, that we have many old Offices, or Officers, that might be spared ; and many Salaries which might be altogether suppress'd, or very much diminished.'

Having very narrowly enquired into the State of the Nation at the Time when this Speech maker and his Friends came to be in the Zenith of Power, I could not find that any Reduction was made of those Expences, Salaries, Posts, or Places ; I could not find that the Sinking Fund met with one Bit more Quarter from them, than it did from their Predecessors ; but I could easily find that the Nation's Estate was more mortgaged, and that therefore her Stewards had greater Reason to have pursued the Advice given by our Patriots.

This Session another Motion of a frugal Cast was made by the Friends of our Hero, which was, to raise within the Year the Supplies necessary for the current Service. In the Course of the Debate upon this Motion, the Gentlemen who supported it said, ' That in the present low State of the national Credit, and while the Public was so greatly indebted, it was the most pernicious Thing they could do to run the Nation any farther in Debt, by creating new Funds, or to prevent that Fund, which was long since appropriated, from being
religi-

religiously applied, to the extinguishing yearly a Part of that Debt contracted before the Year 1716.' As this Reasoning is more applicable now than it was at the Time when this Motion was made, the Public cannot, without the utmost Concern, see this sacred *Depositum* violently seized for the Purposes of a foreign War; and squander'd in such a Manner, as that no Part of it can ever revert to the People of *Great Britain*. This was not the Case with the last M — — y. For under them, there still continued a Circulation of the Public Money, which sooner or later reverted to the Public; and however inconvenient or unwarrantable that Expence was, yet still this Circulation prevented public Misery from being felt.

In this Session the famous Bill against *drinking Spirituous Liquors* pass'd, which gave our Patriot and his Friends an Opportunity of exposing to the House the Iniquity of the Measure of giving the Crown 70,000*l.* additional Revenue, in lieu of the Sum which it is said the Revenue must suffer, in case the said Bill should take Place. Tho' this was demonstrated to be a fallacious Pretext, as plainly as the Power of Figures could, yet the Resolution pass'd. But with what Consistency can we see the very same Men, who objected to this Improvement of the Revenue, now that the Cause actually has ceased from which the Deficiency happened, continue the same Sum, nay, augment the Perquisites arising to the Crown from the drinking of these pernicious Liquors?

I shall not detain my Reader with any Account of what pass'd the remaining Part of this Session, since nothing that came before the Party in their political Capacity, is of so great Importance as to admit of a Repetition. But still the same flaming Zeal for the Interests of the Country, appeared in all they did or said: There was still the same Spirit of Opposition to every Measure, which, since they

themselves have got into Power, they have so avowedly and so shamelessly pursued. There is one Thing indeed which I can't help again taking Notice of, which is, that Mr. * * took no Concern in all the Debate and Struggle which happened by the Bill brought in, to inflict Pains and Penalties upon the Chief Magistrate of *Edinburgh*, for the Part he acted in the Riot, in which *Porteous*, a Captain of the City Guard there, was hanged. This *Porteous* was a loose Fellow, who had put to Death in cold Blood several innocent People who had been present at an Execution, where a few Brickbats had been thrown at the Hangman; and he was condemned by the Laws of that Country, after a fair Tryal, to be hanged for his Offence. While he was under Sentence of Death a Reprieve was ordered, but the Mob took it upon themselves to be the Ministers of Justice, which they accordingly, notwithstanding the Pardon, put in Execution in a very resolute Manner. As this was looked upon to be a Contempt, not only of her Majesty's Authority, who was then Regent and had granted the Reprieve, but an Insult upon the Military Forces which then lay near that City, the City itself was attacked in the Person of its Magistracy, and threatened to be disfranchised for not endeavouring to put a Stop to the Riot. The Gentlemen of that Country (all excepting one Military Man) united in Defence of their Countrymen, without any Regard to the M ——— l Interposition; and Numbers left the Court, which was very sanguine in the Matter, upon this Occasion. In short, after a long and tedious hearing of Witnesses on all Sides, it was found to be a very scandalous Persecution on the Part of the M ——— r, and he was within a Hair's Breadth of losing the Question entirely. For the Bill in the first Place was garbled of its most important and severe Penalties, as it had been sent down from the House of L — s;

and

and when it came to be committed, it escaped throwing out but by the single Voice of the C———n of the C———ee. Thus it is evident had our Patriot bestirred himself in the least, the M———r might have received at that very Time a considerable Blow ; since his losing that Question would undoubtedly have given Spirit to the Opposition, and have fixed many who were intimidated, either by Numbers or the Fear of his Power, to have joined with the Country Party. But during the whole of that Affair, while it was in Dependence before the House, which it was for near a Month, Mr. **, tho' in Town and in Health, never thought fit to take any Part, or to give any Countenance to his Friends, who had thus without him brought that favourite Bill almost to an absolute Negative. What his Motives for this Conduct might be is still a Secret : But I should be unwilling to believe, that he either was in Concert with the M———r, or so implacably his Enemy, that he was sorry that the Bill, as sent down with all its Clauses of Severity, did not pass ; because it might have provoked that People to have had Recourse to violent Measures for their own Redress.

In the Debate about the Army, in the fourth Session of this Parliament, our Patriot distinguished himself with peculiar Vehemence. He said, ‘ That if the Army were reduced, we should soon see the Public Debts decrease, the Dissatisfaction of the People subside, and the Distinctions of Parties abolished. We shall then, *continued he*, have no Need of a Standing Army, because there will be then no Necessity of ruling by a Party ; for that Party amongst us, which opposes those good Ends, becomes a Faction let its Majority be ever so great’.

As this was the avowed Principle of the Gentlemen of the Opposition at that Time, he met with great Applause from this Distinction, which is undoubtedly

doubtedly a right one. But with what Amazement will Posterity look upon the Scene which was transacted upon the Change of Affairs, when this Gentleman and his Friends came into Power. It was then that the ruling by a Party became a profess'd Principle in Government, and an Exclusion was given to every Gentleman who had the Merit of thinking, that all Party-Distinctions and Animosities ought to be abolished. This was the avowed Plan of the Compromise made by our Patriot and his Friends with that Party, which they had so long represented as a Faction, for no other Reason, but because it seemed to adopt those Principles which they took now Care to put in Practice in their most extensive Sense, by cramping the Execution of all public Posts and Honours within the narrow Bounds of a Party; and thereby putting an odious Mark of Distinction upon all who had the Honour to adhere to their former Principles. But we find how far the Farce of Opposition was pushed by this Gentleman in the following remarkable Quotation from the same Speech. ' I have heard, Sir, *said he*, many invidious Insinuations and Reflections thrown out against a certain Opposition that I could name; and I hear a great Talk without Doors about Reconciliation, (meaning betwixt his M. and his R. H.) Sir, I know not any Reconciliation I would wish to see except one; others I never to desire to see, unless they have public Liberty for a Basis. And, Sir, I think an Opposition upon the Principles of Virtue the only Security this Country can have against all Ministers whatsoever, *and I here openly profess my Determination always to join in such an Opposition.*'

How well he has acted up to this Profession, and to those Principles, let his After-Conduct declare. But let us now examine a little into the political Creed of those Gentlemen since that Time,
that

that the Reader may have again an Opportunity of comparing the Consistency of the Conduct : For this Purpose I shall take the Liberty of pointing out a few Passages in the Pamphlet, I have so often had under Consideration, and submit them likewise to the Reader's Judgment. I must however in this Place obviate one Objection which may possibly be made on the Part of the Honourable Persons concerned, *viz. That it cannot be proved that they are concerned in the Publication of this wicked Piece.* To this I answer, First, That the Public, by the Reception they gave it, and the Treatment it met with from all Kinds of Readers, unanimously fix'd upon it as a profess'd Vindication of the Party, which rendered it not at all beneath the H—ble Persons (even new acquired) Dignities to have disowned, *under their Hands*, all Knowledge of, and Connivance at such a Piece. Had this been a Matter of private Suspicion, or an idle Whisper, it would have been perhaps unbecoming their Characters to have stoop'd so far as to have given any public Declaration of that Kind ; but as it has been fix'd upon them by the Voice of the whole Nation, of which we can with no Consistence of Reasoning think them ignorant, their not disclaiming it is a plain Intimation of the Justice of the Charge. In the second Place, the Apology for their Conduct, contained in this infamous Piece, however awkwardly, ridiculously, and stupidly managed, upon what wicked Principles and misrepresented Facts it rests, is evidently the whole and the true Defence which they have to make against the Charge, which has been so often and so warmly press'd against them. This is evident from the Facts which are known to the whole Nation, from the Tenor of their Conduct since they came into Power, and from their own Speeches and Declarations, both in public and private : Therefore, as this huge Pamphlet so exactly tallies with all these, and as the Public has

never

never yet had any other Vindication of the Measures which those Gentlemen have pursued, or the Inconsistency with which they have acted, there is all the Reason in the World for taking it for granted, that this Pamphleteer speaks the Sense of the Party, and that it is looked upon by them to be their true and genuine Vindication. But lastly, the awkward Attempt to throw the Knowledge, or at least the Writing of this voluminous Production, from off the Shoulders of a certain R — t H ——— ble P ——— n, is next to a Proof, that the Public is not mistaken when it looks upon this Pamphlet to be the Vindication and Sense of the Party. For either the Person who published the Advertisement disowning it, did or did not hope, that such an Advertisement would have its desired Effect: If he did hope it, why did he not put his Name to it? Why did he not put it out of all Doubt, that he desired not to be thought the Patron or Author of it? Why did he not give his Friends an Opportunity of saying flatly to any one who supposed him to be either, that he had Wrong done him: Instead of this there is a blind Advertisement, *signed by nobody*, and *address'd to nobody*: If the Pamphlet disclaimed has any Effect to the Credit of the Party, then say they, this Advertisement came from the other Side to *destroy* the Weight that it ought to carry with it, by weakening or rendering uncertain the Authority it came from: If on the other Hand, as has really happened, this bold Attack upon the common Sense of Mankind, this infamous Disavowal of all the Principles of Virtue and public Spirit, should meet with the Contempt, and raise the Detestation it deserves; then, say they, we are free of the Charge of being its Authors; we had no Hand in ushering it into the World, and we are not accountable for any Thing contained in it. But to sum up the whole of this Affair. If the R — t H ——— ble P ——— n, who is the Subject of our present

sent Review, really was the Author of the Advertisement I have taken Notice of, why did he not disown the execrable Principles contained in this Production? Why did he not publickly disavow the base, notorious, scandalous, false Facts advanced in it? Why did he not give the World to understand that he detested the Contents of it; and that the Author, whoever he was, is a meddling, positive, pragmatical, political Fool? Whereas, by only blindly disavowing being the Author, he leaves the Public at Liberty to fix upon him an Approbation of all the villainous Doctrine. Now it is nothing to the Public who was the Author; whether it was wrote by an *I* ——— or a *B* ——— Nobleman; Whether by a Would-be-Lord, or a real One; it is sufficient for us to believe, that where there is no public Disavowal, when there is a public Charge, (which has been fixed by the Right H ——— ble P ——— n himself by the Publication of the Advertisement, if he really did publish it) the Doctrine and the Contents of the Pamphlet are adopted and defended by the Person suspected; since, where he had so fair an Opportunity of disclaiming both, he has neglected to do it. For these and other Reasons, I am warranted to look upon this Performance as the only, the best, and the most authentick Defence of the new A ——— n. Let us then examine how steadily our Patriot and his Friends persevered in his Resolutions of continuing in the Opposition: For this Purpose I shall give an Extract of the Speech, which, according to this Author, was pronounced by Mr. * * himself at the *Fountain Tavern*, and which I must do the Justice to own, is pretty much the Substance of what was then delivered.

* * As to taking the Management, *said he*, of this Affair (*viz.* the Change of the A ——— n) into their own Hands, the Overtures having been

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made

' made to them, it was their Duty, and it would
 ' have been the Duty of any Man to whom they
 ' had been made, to have used his best Abilities
 ' to have brought about a happy Settlement, after
 ' the Divisions by which this Country had been so
 ' long torn, and which could no longer subsist
 ' without the utter Ruin of the Interests of this
 ' Nation Abroad, and the Danger of fatal Distur-
 ' bances at Home: That the superficial Vulgar
 ' might imagine it a more proper and equitable
 ' Way to refer this Settlement to the Decision of
 ' the whole Party; but that no Man of tolerable
 ' Understanding or Experience could cherish an
 ' Idea so impracticable and absurd: That Govern-
 ' ment was not yet reduced to such a Point, as to
 ' surrender at Discretion, especially to such an Ene-
 ' my who had declared publicly they would give
 ' no Quarter: That Government neither *would*,
 ' *could*, nor *ought* to be taken by Storm; and that
 ' it behoved Gentlemen to consider what must in-
 ' evitably be the Consequence of such an Attempt.
 ' As to the partial Distribution of Employments to
 ' the Whigs, that as far as their Interest should
 ' hereafter extend, they would use it faithfully to
 ' his Majesty, and their Country, by recommend-
 ' ing such to serve him, whose Principles they
 ' knew had been misrepresented, and who were
 ' true to his Family, let their Appellations be what
 ' they would.—In fine, they begg'd of them to
 ' consider how false a Step they had already made,
 ' and that this passionate and groundless Division
 ' would infallibly give new Courage to the Party
 ' they had just subdued.'

Thus we see *that* Opposition, in which this Gen-
 tleman determined *immortally* to persevere, becomes
 a desperate and a wicked Step, as soon as his
 Friends and he were to be opposed. But to quote
 every Page of this execrable Pamphlet, which is
 repugnant to, and inconsistent with the Principles
 of

of the former Opposition, would be to fill these Pages with an useless tedious Repetition of the grossest Absurdities, Lies, and Contradictions. However, that we may lay open as much of this Mass of foetid Rottenness as the Public can just bear, without the Air being infected with such an abandoned Sink of Corruption, I will take the Liberty to pursue my Review of some other Declarations to the same Purpose as those I have already taken Notice of.

The penetrating Author of *Faction Detected* has laid it down as an indisputable Truth, ‘ That the ‘ Grand Criterion of the Whigs, is to oppose the ‘ Growth of the Power of *France*; and of the Tories, to advance the Interests of that Power.’ Tho’ it does not so very properly come within the Compass of my present Undertaking, as I had first schemed it, to examine this Doctrine, which amounts to no less than a spitting in the Face of the Public; yet as it has been long bandy’d about amongst our Patriot and his Friends, and has since been avowed in Print, as the best (nor could there indeed be any other) Excuse for the wretched Defection which our M——s have made from all their former Principles; I say, since this is the Case, I shall bestow a few Lines in examining this Proposition.

In the first Place, then, our Author ought to have made a fair Review of all the Steps taken by the Tories for advancing, and by the Whigs for pulling down the Power of *France*. This might have been easily done by collecting a few Facts which have past, during the Sitting of those Parliaments, which are commonly distinguished by the Names of *Whig* and *Tory* Parliaments. Instead of this, he tells us a Story of a *Cock and a Bull*, * ‘ That the Republicans and the Whigs always ‘ voted together; but that the former, unless in

' Times of extreme and rare Necessity, were de-
 ' serted constantly by their Auxiliaries the Whigs,
 ' before they could bring their Scheme to any ma-
 ' ture Effect.' This Passage, by-the-bye, is of that
 frothy unmeaning Kind, which is generally distin-
 guished by the Appellation of Nonsense. How-
 ever, we shall for once suppose that our Author
 had a Meaning, and that he wanted to tell us, That
 the Whigs and Republicans were in King *William's*
 Time link'd together, but that the Whigs never
 would consent to a Republican Form of Govern-
 ment. I should be glad to know how our Author
 came by this Anecdote. I will venture to say, that
 he had it not from any History of the Times, nor
 any political Tract of any Authority now extant;
 and I believe I could affirm, that he cannot have it
 of his own Knowledge. For whoever is the Au-
 thor, be he a *B*—*sh* or an *I*—*b* Nobleman, he
 could not have any personal Opportunity of obser-
 ving the Conduct of the Tories in those Days. But
 as this is the weak frivolous Hinge, upon which the
 whole of this putrid Lump of M.—*—*—*—* I Rhetoric
 rests, I must, in order to expose it, effectually put
 the Author in Mind, that no Man in *England* be-
 sides himself, I believe, ever looked upon the Di-
 stinction betwixt Tory and Whig, in the Light he
 does. The advancing or not advancing the Inte-
 rests of *France*, never was once hinted at, as a Cri-
 terion of either Party. Nay, I will go so far as to
 say, that the Tories have done greater Things a-
 gainst *France*, than the Whigs have ever done.
 Not that the latter wanted Good-Will, but it so
 happened, that they had not the same Opportuni-
 ties. Is it not notorious, that the Grand Alliance,
 which was formed for reducing the Power of *France*,
 was formed by King *William*; by Advice of a Tory
 Administration, and the Approbation of a Tory
 Parliament? Is it not notorious, that the Treaty
 of Partition was broken by a Tory Parliament,

which

which laid the Foundation of the great War which succeeded? Is it not notorious, that it was by the Assistance and Advice of a Tory Administration and Parliament, that Queen *Anne* went into the vigorous Measures against *France* in the beginning of her Reign? Was not the Duke of *Marlborough*, when he was put at the Head of the *British* Armies, a Tory? Was he not obnoxious to the Whigs on that Account, and were not almost all the Ministers of that Time Tories? Did not the Parliament then, tho' perhaps as Tory a Parliament as we ever had, enter into the strongest Resolutions and Addresses, against *France*? Did not the Queen herself, by their Advice, act with a Spirit which reduced that Power to the lowest Ebb? All therefore that this execrable Author can produce to justify his silly Charge, is the Peace of *Utrecht*; for I will venture to say, before that, that there was not the least Suspicion of one Party's favouring *France* more than another; and all the Emulation on that Head was, how to express their Zeal in the strongest Terms against *France*. But it is well known, that when the Peace of *Utrecht* was made, there was not the least Consideration pretended in Favour of *France*. All the Arguments urged for it were drawn from the unequal Burthen which this Nation was obliged to bear in the War, by the Defects of the other Allies, who never furnished their Quota's: The Event of the Emperor's Death, which made the Union of the Imperial and the *Spanish* Crowns more formidable in the Person of the late Emperor, than that of *France* and *Spain*, could prove in the Persons of two Princes of the House of *Bourbon*; and lastly, the Inability of the Nation, now far gone in Debt, to support the Expence of lengthening out the War. As to the Reasons why this became the capital Distinction betwixt the two Parties, these were entirely personal. The Duke of *Marlborough* found the Sweets of being at the Head of an Army which

gave

gave him a dictatorial Power, and Opportunities of amassing Riches, beyond what any Subject of *Great Britain* ever amass'd in so short a Time ; and therefore he sought to prolong his Command, as long as possible, which he could not when the War was ended. From this Principle the Enemy was attacked when they were strongest, and consequently where they could longest hold out. The Tories, who were in earnest about humbling *France*, effectually disliked this; and, without coming to any open Breach with the General, for a long Time their leading Men contented themselves with expressing, in their private Capacities, their Dislike of the Manner in which the War was carried on, and the Indulgencies shewn to the Allies, who left the great Burthen of the whole upon the Shoulders of *Great Britain*, who was less than any other Power concerned interested in the Event. The Duke of *Marlborough* and his Friends, who I believe were likewise in earnest about reducing *France*, provided they could get it done *their own Way*, perceived their Discontent which was arising, and therefore struck in with the Whigs, who upon this Occasion were glad of being fortified by so strong a Support, as the Credit and Interest of so great a Man, made it the Criterion of their Party to support the Duke of *Marlborough* in his Scheme of reducing *France*. This rendered it necessary for the other Party to support their Scheme; and, rather than carry on the War in such a Manner as might undo the Nation for raising a few private Men, to make Peace. This Incident, the Consequences of which were never intended to reach farther than the particular Juncture in which it happened, first gave Rise to those wicked Distinctions which have been since so well improved to keep up a Spirit of Party, and which it was the profess'd Design of the late Opposition to remove. For this Purpose, and to shew the wicked Views of those who endeavoured

voured to perpetuate our unhappy Divisions, the late Opposition, which was composed principally of Tories, took every Opportunity of heartily and earnestly recommending the depressing the Power of *France*; and a very great Pen, in Conjunction with our Patriot, in a Series of Papers, laboured to prove, that a firm Coalition of all Parties was the only Way to secure the Liberties of *Great Britain*; that such a Coalition already in a great Measure subsisted, and that all the Difference now amongst Parties consisted entirely in Distinctions, which either were not well understood, or industriously kept up for the worst of Purposes. In this they had so good Success, that the People already began to lay aside all other Distinctions, besides that of Court and Country; and in Consequence of all this, our Patriot, in the same Speech I last quoted, took Notice, that, ‘As the Distinction betwixt Whigs and Tories is now in Effect abolished, I hope soon to see the People know no other Denominations of Party amongst us, besides those of Court and Country. The Honourable Gentleman (meaning the M——r who had just done speaking) talks of the *Establishment*, the *Government*, and the *Administration*; but, Sir, I know of no *Establishment*, I know of no *Government*, I know of no *Administration* that ought to be kept up, but for the Preservation of the Liberties of the People: For it is not Two-pence Matter to me whether the Prince’s Name, under whom I am to be enslaved, is *Thomas*, *James*, or *Richard*; I am sure I shall never be a Slave under *George*.’

From this Quotation the Reader will easily conceive the Principles of the then Opposition. This was the Sense of the Party at that Time; and it was upon this Foundation that the Coalition for which our Patriot, and his noble Friend who was the Author of *The Dissertation upon Parties*, so earnestly recommended it to the Public. He will see
here

here, that the main Question betwixt the Court and the Country, or the Opposition and the Ministry, was not, whether *France* should be weakened, or strengthened; nor whether the House of *Austria* was supported or not: These Questions were never looked upon as any other than secondary to the great End of procuring to the People a strong and a sufficient constitutional Guard against the Influence of Power, which was of late much increased, that it threatened the Subversion of public Liberty. The Forbearance we shew'd to *France*, and the Coldness we discovered for the Interests of the Emperor, were indeed much complained of, as was the whole of our Conduct in foreign Affairs; but it was still understood by all the Nation, that this proceeded from the Fear which the Minister was under, of acting with Vigour, either as a Friend or an Enemy, lest his engaging in a War should shake him in his domestic Power. It never was understood, as if a Change of our Administration of foreign Affairs, would effect any Change in what the People so much wanted and expected; I mean in the corrupt Exercise of Power, and the Abuse of an immense public Revenue: But it was still understood, that as soon as this was effected, the other would follow of course; since we knew that the Minister had no other Reason for his meanly truckling to *France*, but to secure his own Power. It was extremely indifferent to the People in what Manner we stood with regard to foreign Affairs, as long as the great Points, which they had been so long struggling for, were not effected; and they were sure that as soon as they were carried, whatever Ministry should come in would, for their own Sakes, make themselves independent of all foreign Considerations, and act with a due Regard to the Honour of their Country; because they could have no View in doing otherwise, but what must be immediate Ruin to themselves.

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These Considerations, which are strengthen'd by the Writings of the Party in those Days, are, I hope, sufficient to convince the Public, with how abandon'd, how scandalous a View, the Pamphlet I have been examining was wrote. It will shew them, that there is no Doctrine so infamous, no Facts so false, which the Author, the Patrons, and the Protectors of it, will stick at in order to delude the People into a tolerable Opinion of their Conduct. But tho' these Reflections were not to fall from any Pen, I believe there is no Man in *England* who had ever the least Opportunity of conversing in Public for the twenty Years immediately preceding the late Change of the A———n, who does not remember, that every Profession, every Question, every Action of the Party had a Tendency directly opposite to what this detestable Pamphleteer attempts to insinuate. But nothing can raise so just a Detestation of him as his own Words. *

‘ Our Condition, *says he*, (meaning in the Time
‘ of the late Minister) insensibly grew very despe-
‘ rate both at Home and Abroad ; and yet the
‘ People seem’d insensible of this to such a Degree,
‘ and made so constant a Choice of those he re-
‘ commended, that most Men thought their Spi-
‘ rit greatly changed and broken, and that it was
‘ necessary to rouse them from the Lethargy they
‘ seem’d to be in. This honest Apprehension
‘ made them not afraid to animate the People by
‘ Discourses of a Republican Turn : The Liber-
‘ ties of *Europe* were upon the Brink of irretrieva-
‘ ble Ruin ; and if those were lost, the Liberties
‘ of *Britain* could not stand. Any Means that
‘ were not more dangerous than immediate Ruin
‘ were thought lawful to be used to effect this
‘ Change : The Means they used, far from seem-
‘ ing dangerous, appeared safe to them, and to
‘ have a Tendency to bend the People from that
‘ Pile,

‘ Pile, which, upon all our late Disorders, had ap-
 ‘ peared to cast dangerously another Way.—But
 ‘ their Zeal undoubtedly hurried them too far in
 ‘ this Respect. We have spoken freely of the Faults
 ‘ and Errors of the late Minister ; we shall not scru-
 ‘ ple to speak with the same Freedom of the Op-
 ‘ position to him. This was at least an *Error*, if
 ‘ not a *Fault* in them ; and the Public at this Hour
 ‘ feels its bad Effects. For the People have taken
 ‘ that which was the Means, to be the End and
 ‘ View of the Opposition.’

Can the worst, the most embitter’d Foe of
 our present M—rs say worse against them
 than what is imply’d in this infamous Apology
 for their Conduct? Or can the lowest Drudge of
 Faction, writing for or against any Point, as he is
 hired or paid, more palpably contradict all he has
 said before, than this Author does the whole of his
 frothy Performance? In effect, he owns, that the
 Extremes of *Whig* and *Tory* end in *Republican* and
Jacobite. * ‘ The *Republicans*, says he, who are
 ‘ the Leaders of the *Whig* Faction, are in this
 ‘ Country little more than *Whigs* over-heated by
 ‘ Oppression and an extravagant Abuse of Power.’
 Now I believe every Man of common Sense un-
 derstands by a *Republican*, one who in his Princi-
 ples is for the Government being in the Form of a
 Commonwealth. If so, does not this as necessa-
 rily imply an Abolition of the present Establish-
 ment in the House of *Hanover*, as *Jacobitism* it-
 self does? Nay, does it not imply a much wi-
 der and more thorough Alteration of all the Sys-
 tem of our Constitution, both Civil and Ecclesiastical,
 than can be effected by any Change of Go-
 vernors, if the Government continues to be monar-
 chical? Therefore, is there not all the Reason in
 the World to be as much on our Guard against, and
 as much to detest a *Republican* as even a *Jacobite*?

bite? But to set this awkward Apology in its true Light; let us suppose that the Persons who were strongly, by their Manner and Discourse, suspected of Jacobitism, had been taken into the A-----n upon the late Alteration; and that they had pursued the very same Conduct with our present most upright M——y; would not, *mutatis mutandis*, the very same Apology have done extremely well for the Jacobites? Might not the Apologist say, that even Jacobitism is a *Means that is less dangerous than immediate Ruin. That therefore it is lawful to be used to turn out a Minister; since, far from seeming dangerous to them, it appeared safe, and to have a Tendency to bend the People from that Pile which cast dangerously another Way?*

Is not an Apology of this kind branding all Opposition, and the Leaders of the late Opposition, if those who have got into Power were Leaders of it, with the most odious of Appellations? Especially since, as our Author observes, * ‘It is very difficult for the Generality of Men to distinguish of what Species Opposition may be; for both the Republican Principles and the Jacobite Views being long since sufficiently detected, and being therefore both become detestable to all honest Men, both the one and the other are extremely careful not to avow their respective Pursuits.’ And yet our consistent Author tells us, towards the latter End of his Performance, that his Friends did *avow their Pursuits, for they were not afraid to animate the People by Discourses of a Republican Turn.* But it is no Wonder, it, considering the Length and the Confusion of the whole Performance, the Author forgot, when he drew towards the End, what he had said in the Beginning. I cannot do better than close these Remarks with another Extract from the same Speech of our Patriot upon Standing Armies. ‘The Establishment, said he

of the Crown in his Majesty's Person and Family, can only be secured by our securing the Rights of the People. This, Sir, is the Charter by which his Majesty holds his Crown; and whoever separates the Interests of the People from those of the Establishment, must be either ignorant of our Constitution, or a Traitor equally to his Prince and his Country. For this Reason, Sir, it is evident to me, that if the Pretender had an Agent in his Majesty's Councils, or in this House, that Agent would employ all the Force of his Tongue and Lungs, he would even out-vote a Minister, and out-speech a Placeman, in his Zeal for this Resolution: Nor could there be a more effectual Way thought of to promote that Person's Interest, than our agreeing to bridle the Kingdom with 18,000 Men.'

Having now, I hope, sufficiently demonstrated the Inconsistency of the Conduct of our Patriot and his Friends, and the Insufficiency, Weakness, and Wickedness of this awkward Apologist, down to the Time of the Contests with *Spain*, we shall now proceed to that Period which first began to embarrass the Minister with Difficulties, which were insurmountable, thro' the great Stiffness of the *Spanish* Court, which would not stoop so far from the Haughtiness of its own Demeanour, as to temporize a little with him, till he could get the Parliament to approve of certain previous Steps, which might make the most scandalous Peace go down.

The first Point, according to our Author, which the Nation expected should have been done in this Affair, after the manifold Injuries we had received from *Spain*, was, * *The disclaiming all Right to search our Ships in the American Seas, under Pretence of their carrying on a contraband and an illicit Trade*: Now, continues he, as there neither ever was, nor is, any Treaty subsisting between the two Nations, which either specifies, intimates,

' or

‘ or supposes any such Things as contraband Goods ; and as, if the Pretence should be allowed of an illicit Trade, our Ships must be exposed to be rummag’d and confiscated by the *Spanish* Vessels ; this was absolutely a Condition (*sine qua non*) without which we never could end our Differences with that Nation.’

The Author in the above Quotation has been guilty of an Error, which plainly discovers with how little Caution he writes ; and if read by a Foreigner, who wou’d be at pains to look into the Treaties betwixt *Spain* and us, would make him entertain a very indifferent Idea of the Justice or Wisdom of this Nation. He ought to have known that there is no Treaty now subsisting betwixt us and *Spain*, but what does specify, intimate, and suppose contraband Goods, but that those Goods are specify’d to signify the Provisions of War which are intended for succouring the Enemies of either of the contracting Powers. Nay, the Treaties have been so clear upon this Head, that they mention every Particular that can come under this Head. Therefore what our Author perhaps meant was, that there is no particular Species of illicit Trade expressly provided against by the Treaties now subsisting betwixt us and *Spain*. This is in part true, but not as it is express’d by our Apologist. By the Treaty of 1667, there is a Clause which specifies the Nature of the illicit Trade betwixt *Great Britain* and *Spain* ; but we are to remember, that this Treaty was made for the *European* as well as the *American* Dominions of both Powers. But indeed in the *American* Treaty, which was concluded in 1670, there is no mention made of illicit, tho’ there is of a contraband Trade. The Reason of which is, that by an * Article of the last mention’d Treaty, all Trade betwixt the two Nations in *America* is absolutely prohibited: Therefore, while such

a Prohibition subsisted, it could never be presumed, that there could be any Object of illicit Trade. I have thought proper to clear up our Author's Blunder in this Respect, because, as he professes to write upon Facts, and to speak the Sense of the Gentlemen, who, to their immortal Honour, opposed the Convention, some ignorant or uninform'd People may be drawn in to think that those Gentlemen had maintained that Position.

The Circumstances attending the Examination of this Affair in the House of Commons, are too recent in every one's Memory to require any *particular* Review here. I shall therefore confine myself to the Share which our Patriot and his Friends had in them, and the famous Measures which many Gentlemen in the Minority resolved upon, when the Convention was approved of in Parliament.

Our Differences with *Spain* were at that Time of such a Nature, that the Question was not about any particular Branch of Trade, or any Difference about particular Rights; but affected the very Being of all our *American* Colonies, and consequently the whole of the Trade of *Great Britain*, the principal, and indeed, the only profitable Branch, of which was then our *American* Trade. The Merchants had long and ineffectually complained, 'till the Danger became so pressing, that Mr. * * and his Friends found favourable Opportunities in the H——ie of C———s of making several very embarrassing Motions against the M———r, for having Papers laid before the House, relating to our Negotiations with *Spain*. But all their Eloquence availed little against Numbers. The constitutional Principles upon which these Motions were made, are best learned from our Patriot's own Words: ' We have in this Kingdom, *says he*, several Councils; we have a Privy Council, a Cabinet Council, and for ought I know, a more secret and less numerous Council still, by which the other two are directed :

directed: But the Parliament is his Majesty's great and chief Council. It is the Council which all Ministers ought, both for their own Sakes and their Masters, to advise his Majesty to consult with, upon every Affair of great Weight and Importance.' As these Reasons for consulting the Parliament upon every important Step relating to Peace or War, are as well founded as the Constitution of Parliament itself, we may hope to see them ever prevail. But the Rights of Parliament don't extend only to an Enquiry into the Fitness of Measures before they are undertaken, but to an Approbation of them after they are executed: The latter Part of the P——ry Rights seem to have been forgot by the Friends of our Patriot, since they became M——rs. We have seen Measures of the greatest Importance concerted and executed, without waiting for either the Advice or Approbation of P——t. We have entered as Auxiliaries, but acted as Principals, in a War of far greater Importance than that with *Spain*. We have provoked the most powerful and the most dangerous Enemy this Nation has, beyond the Possibility of a Reconciliation; we have lavished in this Quarrel a third Part of all the current Coin in the Kingdom; and all this without one Ally to embark with us in the same Cause, or the least Prospect of bettering ourselves in one Shilling, supposing every Thing to be as successful as our most sanguine Wishes can suggest: All this, I say, has been done without consulting the Parliament, at least as to the Lengths that have been gone, and the offensive Measures that have been pursued: Whether our Patriot and his Friends were in earnest or not, with regard to the frequent Motions which they made for Papers, I cannot take upon me to say; only I will venture to affirm, that it never came into their Heads to imagine that the M——r would agree to any such Motions; nay, I be-

I believe they thought that he must be a Fool and a Madman if he did ; since we have seen the like Motions, upon more important and urgent Emergencies, set aside, since they themselves came into Power. They by their Conduct have set a Precedent for all succeeding Opposition, to leave no Question unmoved for, which they think can distress the A———n, or put it under Difficulties ; no Matter with what Justice, or with what Prospect of Success, they may be attended.

As the Rupture with *Spain* seemed now unavoidable, our Patriot brought in a Bill, for *the more effectually securing and encouraging the Trade of his Majesty's Subjects to America*. This Bill was a Revival of a like Bill which pass'd in *Queen Ann's* Time ; it was meant as an Encouragement to Seamen, and to Adventurers and Privateers to distress the Enemy by annoying their Ships, siezing upon their Territories, and making Descents upon their Possessions ; the Property of which when siezed, was to be vested by the Crown in the Adventurers. As the Party thought this Bill would precipitate the M———y into an unavoidable War, both Parties used great Address ; the one to push, and the other to ward it off. It was very late in the Session, very few Members were in Town, and most of those who were, were such as were personally concerned in a Bill about the Coal Trade. This gave a Handle for a Piece of Parliamentary Jockeying on the Side of the Court, which our Patriot took so very ill, that he flew out into some personal Invectives against the M———r, and another Honourable Member in a considerable Post under his Majesty. However, at last, the Bill was brought in, and the M———r laid himself out, with all his Party, to oppose it in the most effectual Manner ; that is, to drop it. For this Purpose almost all the young Gentlemen of his Party were engaged to harangue against it in set Speeches, which

which they did, and were answered by our Patriot, and his Friends. As their Arguments are applicable to a great many different Exigencies of Government, besides that on which they were pronounced, we shall give an Extract of a few of them, which may be very fitly now applied against themselves. But previous to this, I must give the Reader Part of a Speech, made by the M———r upon this Occasion; because a great deal of the subsequent Conduct of both Parties depended upon that Speech, and the Effects it had are far from being over even at this Day.

‘ I know, Sir, how far Ministers are accountable for the Counsels they give their Sovereign, and how far this House in former Times looked upon them as answerable for the Conduct of the Sovereign; and I think, Sir, they should be answerable.—’Tis but a mean Excuse for a Minister, when any wrong Step is made in Government, that he is not accountable for the Events of Measures that never were advised by him, and in which he was over-ruled by his Superiors. I have always disdained these mean Subterfuges; and with what Face can I again appear in this House, if full and ample Satisfaction is not made us, or at least, if we don’t do our utmost to obtain it; either by fair and peaceable Pains, or by exerting all our Strength, in case a War becomes necessary? If my Country should call me to an Account, I would very willingly take upon me the Blame of every Step that has been made by the Government, since I had the Honour to enter into the Administration. As to the common Notion of a Minister’s being afraid to enter into a War, I do not understand upon what it can be grounded. For my Part, I never could see any Cause, either from Reason or my own Experience, to imagine that a Minister is not as safe in Time of War, as in Time of Peace. Nay, Sir, if we are to judge by Reason alone, it is the

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Interest of a Minister, conscious of any Mismanagement, that there should be a War; because by a War the Eyes of the Public are diverted from examining into his Conduct; nor is he accountable for the bad Success of a War, as he is for that of an Administration.

‘ I remember, Sir, when I was a young Man, nothing gave a greater Pleasure than voting for a War with *France*; I thought it sounded well, that it was Heroic, and for the Glory of my Country. But, Sir, how fatal in some Respects have the Consequences of that War, just and necessary as it was, been to *Britain*? I little dreamt that at this Day we should, by Means of that War, be groaning under such a Load of Debts. I little dreamt, Sir, that the noble Resolution the Parliament then made was to cost us so dear, or that we were to purchase our Glory at an Expence, which, after so many Years, would render it extremely inconvenient for us to enter, even into the most necessary War. For which Reason, Sir, tho’ I am as absolutely bent upon a War as any Gentleman, if Satisfaction cannot be obtained by other Means, yet I think it would be very imprudent for this House to take any Steps that may prevent the Conclusion of a safe and honourable Peace. This Bill, in the Views I now have of it, must be attended with that Effect; and tho’, as I said before, I shall not give it my absolute Negative, yet, Gentlemen must excuse me, if it does not meet with my Concurrence, till I hear the Reasons answered which I have advanced against it.’

I hope the Importance of the above Quotation will excuse the Length of it: For it was upon this Speech that the Gentlemen of the Opposition proceeded to throw the whole Blame of the Convention, and the pusillanimous Conduct of the War, upon the M——r. The Speech itself was too recent in the Minds of every Body, for him to de-

ny it; and his Words were so full, and so strong, that he could not mince them. The honest Part of the House considered this Declaration of his in two Lights; first, as a frank and fair Avowal that he was the first M——r; and next, as an excellent Handle for calling him to an Account in case of any Mismanagements, either of the Peace, or the War. Our Patriot and his Friends seem'd to join in this Opinion, and both in Public and in Private took all Opportunities of declaring, That as the M——r had taken the whole of the Management of the Nation's Affairs upon his own Shoulders, and made himself answerable for the Success of every Measure, they would take Care his own Declaration should condemn him. When the Convention appeared, and proved to be the detested Thing it was, his own Words were repeated to him, and loud Protestations were made, That his Insolence never should be forgiven; That his Power was become too dangerous to be any longer borne with; That it had sacrificed the Honour, the Interest, and the Independency of the Nation: Nay, our Patriot, I think, went so far as to say, That as the Convention had in Effect given up to an Enemy the just Rights of *Great Britain*, it was treasonable; and that as the M——r had taken the whole upon himself, there were just Grounds from his own Words, for a Parliamentary Impeachment upon it. A great many of the honest Party in the House were really for pushing the M——r to Extremity, in order to satisfy the People, to set a useful Example of Punishment, which might deter all future M——s from the like Abuse of Power: Therefore they thought that it was a mocking of public Justice, to address his M——y for removing him from his Presence and Councils, when there was so manifest Evidence for inflicting a much higher Censure.

Thus the Opposition was divided betwixt those who treasured up this Declaration in their Minds, in order to make a proper Use of it when Occasion presented ; and those who made a great Noise about it at the Time, but were resolved never to take any farther Notice of it.

The next Session of Parliament, however, opened with the detestable Convention, and a most plausible arrogating Speech of the Minister recommending it. It was taken in Pieces by the Minority, and proved to be destructive of all our Trade and Interest. Mr. * * was very copious upon this Head ; but even then a great many of the clearest-headed and most sensible People began to see his Views. For some Gentlemen in the Opposition were immediately, while the Spirit of the Nation was up, for founding an Impeachment upon this Convention, which was of such destructive Consequences, that it might have been pushed even into High Treason. The M——r's own Words, whereby he made himself answerable for the Conduct of every Thing, were recent in every Body's Memory ; and it would have been next to impossible for him, either to have denied or explained them away. But this did not at all suit with the Views of our Patriots. A Secession was thought of. This Measure was agreed to as being a kind of a silent Protest. It carried with it the Appearance of a just and noble Way of Proceeding, and undoubtedly was the honestest and wisest Step that the Opposition, in the then Juncture of Affairs, could have thought of. But then it ought to be remembered, that our Patriot was in a Manner forced into it. It was proposed and urged by the Gentlemen who have acted consistently, and continued firm in the Opposition ; and nothing but the Dread he was under of seeing himself abandoned through mere Distrust, would have prevailed upon him to have agreed to it. At last it was resolved upon, though by no Means unanimously.

nimously. An eminent Patriot, who has since stepped into the chief Place of the late M——r, kept the House, together with several of his Friends; and the M——l Party exulted mightily in the Folly and ineffectual Consequences of the Measure itself. Such of the Country Party who stay'd in the House were very much insulted for not following their Friends; and some Threats were thrown out, as if the Law might construe such a Proceeding into an Act of *Treason*, or at least *Sedition*. The Thing itself however, upon the whole, had several good Effects; it rendered the Ministry very cautious how they proceeded; nay, put them upon pushing several popular and beneficial Laws, during the Remainder of the Session. The People without Doors were likewise alarmed to a great Degree; but when they saw that the Numbers of the Seceders were so inconsiderable, and the Party so much divided, some began to think that the whole was a Farce, and that their Interests had been betrayed. The M——l Party upon this treated the Seceders as a Pack of *Runaways*, and no Cost or Pains were spared to expose them to the Contempt and Hatred of the Public. This Insolence, on the Part of Power, procured them a great many Friends, and a well-timed Address to the People, in which our Patriot had a principal Hand, produced great Effects in Favour of the Seceders. As this Piece was the Pamphlet of the Party, and is drawn up in the most pathetic Terms, I can't help giving the Reader a short Extract or two out of it, that he may thereby have a farther Opportunity of comparing their former, with their present Sentiments.

After enlarging upon the Fitness of a Place-Bill, and putting every Argument for it in the strongest Light it admits of, he proceeds: * ‘ The Necessity therefore of a Law for restraining the Number

* See an Address to the Electors, &c. Printed for Goreham, the then Printer of the Craftsman, in 1739.

‘ ber of Place-Men that may sit in Parliament, appearing thus obviously requisite to our future Preservation, you may possibly ask me, how so great a Good may be procured through your Influence.

‘ To this I answer, that if fully convinced of its absolute Necessity, you resolve to contribute your utmost Efforts to obtain it, you cannot surely fail in so virtuous an Attempt.

‘ For not to repeat the Weight that your united Petitions would have on your Representatives, or the Instructions which you have *now* a Right to give them, the Time will soon come when a new Parliament must be chosen, and it will then be in your Power to make each Candidate’s Affection to this most salutary Law a Test of his Merit, and how far he is worthy of the Trust he solicits. By these Means it will be possible, if it should appear to be your general Sentiments, to compose a Majority of the next Parliament of such Gentlemen, as are honest enough, not only to acknowledge the Necessity of this Law, but also to exert their utmost Endeavours effectually to obtain it.’

Such were the Sentiments of our Patriot and his Friends, at that Time, with regard to a Place-Bill, which has met with so little Quarter from their Apologist, the Author of *Faction Detected*. The next Thing I shall take Notice of in this Pamphlet is, our Patriot’s Calculation of the Revenue which is necessary for supporting the Dignity of this Government in Time of Peace. ‘ Were our Debts paid, *says he*, and our Affairs managed with proper OEconomy, the whole annual Expence, in Time of Peace, need not exceed 1,170,000*l*. this Sum being esteemed by the *Whigs*, at the End of the last War, sufficient for all the necessary Purposes of Government.’ To prove this Calculation, he refers us to a Pamphlet that appeared

peared in the Year 1712, supposed generally to be wrote by an intimate Friend of Sir *Robert Walpole's*; where the necessary Expences are calculated thus,

The Civil List,	700,000 <i>l.</i>
Guards and Garrisons,	350,000 <i>l.</i>
Ordinary of the Navy.	120,000 <i>l.</i>

But I should be glad to know of these Gentlemen, how the Nation can expect ever to be in this desirable Situation, if she still continues, instead of paying off, to contract new Debts; and if this pathetic Address was proper *then*, whether a much more pathetic one upon that Subject might not be equally proper *now*.

The Secession however still continued, and in the Interval of the Sessions of Parliament the Court thought proper to declare War against *Spain*, which gave our Patriots the fairest Opportunity they could desire of returning with Honour to their Duty in Parliament. Several vigorous Motions were made: The Bill for the Encouragement of Trade in *America*, which had been rejected before, was now again brought in; and after many Alterations and Contractions, which many thought were given into too easily by our Patriot and his Friends, it pass'd into a Law. In short, this Session was entirely spent in sparring Blows betwixt the Opposition and the Ministry. Our Patriot and his Friends made use of a great deal of Parliamentary Jockeyship, and embarrass'd the Administration so much, that they were obliged to drop a Bill for registering the Number of Seamen; which, if it had pass'd, would have given a great Addition of Power and Influence to the Crown. There is one particular Incident which happened this Session of Parliament, that I can't avoid taking Notice of in this Place, since it serves to prove how ineffectual some of the boasted Laws now in Being are for the Purposes to which they were intended. The Author of *Faction De-*
tected,

*tested, * in enumerating the several Advantages which attend the Act pass'd in Queen Anne's Time, for the better Security of her Majesty's Person and Government, and of the Succession to the Crown of England in the Protestant Line, mentions, amongst other salutary Consequences of this Act, That it is thereby provided, That from and after the Dissolution of that Parliament, no Person who shall have in his own Name, or in the Name of any Person or Persons in Trust for him, or for his Benefit, any new Office, or Place of Profit whatsoever under the Crown, which at any Time hereafter shall be created or erected, nor any Commissioner or Sub-Commissioner of Prizes, and Secretary or Receiver for the Prizes, any Comptroller of the Accounts of the Army, any Commissioner of Transports, any Commissioner of the Sick and Wounded, any Agent for any Regiment, nor any Commissioner for Wine Licences, nor any Governor or Deputy Governor of any of the Plantations, nor any Commissioners of the Navy employed in any of the Out-Ports, nor any Person having any Pension from the Crown during Pleasure, shall be elected, sit, or vote as a Member of the House of Commons.* Now these Regulations and Provisions, one would think, are very positive and express; yet there was an Instance this Session of Parliament, of a † Gentleman having a Seat in the House, who then possess'd a Place, confessedly created since the Term prescribed by this Act. A Motion was made by a noble Lord for ordering a new Writ for the Borough which this Gentleman served for; and I do believe if the Motion had been supported with as much Vigour by our Patriot, as it was made with Spirit by the noble L——d, it would have been carried; which must have given the Cause of the M——r a great Blow, as there were several other Motions to have been made of the same kind. But under Pretence that

* P. 152.

† Mr. C——t Member for S——-th.

that the Post of Secretary to the C—t of Ass—nts for the Relief of poor Widows of Sea-Officers, was not fill'd up *immediately* by the Crown, (tho' it was admitted that the Crown nominated the Assistants themselves,) the Motion was dropt by a great Majority. We shall not pursue our Review of this Session any farther, it being fill'd with many *Motions of Course*, which the Minority made, and which were as often set aside by the other Party.

The next Session was open'd by a Speech from the Throne, which shew'd a good deal of Spirit ; and the Minority still continued to push for Papers and other Questions, which were still rejected by Numbers : But now it became an Article in the Political Creed of our Patriot and his Friends, that it was right to keep the Ministry still alarm'd by frequent Motions, no Matter with what Prospect of Success ; because the setting aside such Motions spread their Unpopularity and heighten'd the public Odium ; and, on the other hand, to oppose whatever came from the M——r ; that they might prevent his doing any Thing that was popular.

We now proceed to the last Effort in this Parliament against the M——r, I mean the famous Motion for removing him from his Majesty's Presence and Councils for ever. A Motion of this kind had been long talk'd of and expected ; but there happened great Differences in Opinion, as to the Manner in which it could be executed. These may be divided principally into three Divisions ; first, our Patriot, and his Friends who have since stept into Power upon the Wrecks of the M——r, confin'd their Views entirely to the having him remov'd out of his Posts, and displac'd from that Influence and Rank he held in his Majesty's Councils. Thus they were for setting him gently down, and thereby keeping a Door open for the like Enjoyment and Exercise of Power in their own Persons, and setting a Precedent of Impunity, by suf-

fering the M——r to spend the Remainder of his Time in a comfortable Retreat from the Fatigues of Power : The best Reward which the greatest Patriot can hope for, after a whole Life spent in the Service of his Country. The next Difference of Opinions upon this Head, was that of those who were in earnest to have the M——r brought to exemplary Justice, but were for beginning their Proceeding in this Manner ; because, said they, if we can once remove him from his Posts, and the Influence he has in the Government, it will be then easy to take other Steps, in order to bring him to a full and a fair Tryal : Therefore, continued they, the present Motion is to be look'd upon only as introductory of others of greater Consequence, and is meant only to bring him down to such a Level as that he may not over-top the Justice of his Country. The last Class (I mean those Gentlemen who were known under the Denomination of *Tories*,) were for the Measure, but thought that it was both unjust and ineffectual for the Purpose proposed. It was *unjust*, because the Motion tended to inflict a Censure upon a Man before he had been regularly convicted as a Delinquent ; and they thought it ineffectual, because, if it went no farther than a bare Removal, it was a Reward rather than a Punishment ; and they knew the Sentiments of the Gentlemen who took the Head in this Affair too well to believe them in earnest.

A great many Meetings and Consultations were held how to settle their Procedure, but without Effect ; for the last-mention'd Gentlemen were for a fair Impeachment, as they never could be at a Loss for Matter, when the Convention, together with the Declarations often repeated by the M——r in the House, were remember'd. But this, not at all suiting with the Views of our Patriot and his Friends, they took a Resolution to push it in the way of a Motion ; upon the Presumption that when it came

to an Issue the other Gentlemen would never desert their *old Friends* : They were, however, deceiv'd. While the latter declar'd themselves loudly for an *Impeachment*, but were against a *Motion*, Mr. * * and his Friends work'd upon the second Class of Gentlemen I have mention'd, (and who were sincere in their Professions) so far, that they came into the Belief, that this Motion was only intended as an introductory Step for compleating that Vengeance which Mr. * * had so often, and then but so lately denounc'd against the M——r. Thus Mr. * * and his Motion-making Friend took the Head in this great Affair ; and the Motion was seconded by another R——t H———ble Person, who has since accepted of a very considerable Place under the Government. But the *Tories* were not to be brought over in that Manner ; accordingly Mr. S——n, who was then at the Head of the Gentlemen who pass under that Term, declar'd to his Friends that he would not join with the Motion ; and others of them not contented with being merely *neutral*, stay'd to speak and to vote against it. This greatly disconcerted the whole Opposition ; and it was, fairly speaking, owing to the Obstinacy and secret Views of our Patriot and his Friends : This is demonstrably proved by the Sequel of their Conduct when they came into Power, which if they never had done, they might have continued with Success to throw the Blame and Odium of the Whole upon the *Tories*. But as we have seen that these Gentlemen who had the Lead in the Motion actually carried their Resentments no farther than the bare displacing the M——r, we may from that easily judge of their Views and Intentions. Nay, when Measures were taken, before the same Gentlemen pull'd off the Mask, for bringing this great Delinquent to Justice, we saw them throw that Mask off, when by the Zeal of their well-meaning Friends, who had join'd them in the Motion, they could no longer

wear it with Safety to that Delinquent, or consistently with their own private Views. On the other hand, almost all those *Tories* who had actually deserted this Question, or, to use Mr. * *s own Expression, who *sneak'd upon that Occasion*, continued in a firm and determin'd Opposition to the Measures as well as the Persons of the late A ————n; and all the *Whigs* to a Man who were brought to trust our Patriots from the Professions of their Sincerity, express'd their Detestation of these Practices so much the more strongly, in proportion as they had been deceived themselves, and had been brought into a different Opinion of Mr. S ————n and his Friends.

The bad Success of this Motion threw the M ————r into a Lethargy of Power, out of which he did not awake till he found he had dream'd away his Interest in the Nation. For imagining that the Breach betwixt the *Tories* and the *Whigs* upon this Occasion was too great to be made up during the Time of electing a new Parliament, he thought that it wou'd grow daily wider; nay, he was so weak as to imagine that the former would even declare for him rather than act any longer with their Whig-Coadjutors; so very much was he mistaken in the Motives of that Tendernefs which those Gentlemen had expressed in the Affair of the Motion; and so very ill did he judge of the Temper and Spirit of the People upon that Occasion. The *Westminster* Election, which was boldly undertaken by about a Score out of twenty thousand Inhabitants who had Votes as Electors, was the first Step which prov'd, that the Spirit of the People, if artfully and rightly manag'd, may prove too strong for the strongest Influence of Corruption and Power.

This Election happen'd to fall just at the very Crisis which was to determine all the Elections throughout the Kingdom. It had so often gone in favour of the Court, and the Influence of Power
was

was so great over its Inhabitants, that it was look'd upon as sure an Election for the M — — r as any in the Kingdom. The great Service, therefore, which the Handful of independent Inhabitants originally did, was, that by the critical Stand which they made, such honest Electors throughout the Kingdom as were desponding, thro' the bad Success of the Motion, came now to recover their Spirits; and those who were before irresolute were fix'd, and asham'd of not bestirring themselves after they had so noble an Example set them. This, I say, would have been of the utmost Service to the Cause of the Opposition, had not the Electors met with the Success they afterwards did meet with. But let it never be forgot, that some of those Gentlemen who were most trusted to in the Management of this Affair, have been heard to declare, That when our Patriot and his Friends were applied to for their *bare* Countenance, when it was thought proper to form a Meeting for obtaining Redress of their Injuries in a Parliamentary Way, he and they not only refused it, because the Thing had not been carry'd on by his Direction and that of half a Dozen of his Friends, but they declar'd, that if they had come to vote, they would have voted against Admiral *Vernon* for Sir *C. W.* Tho' this was a discouraging Declaration, yet it did not at all damp the Spirit of the Gentlemen concern'd, who continued to carry on their Meetings with great Zeal, and a good deal of Success.

Soon after this, an Incident happen'd, which gave thinking People a strong Suspicion of our Patriot. It was thought a proper Measure by the Grand Inquest of the C — y, of which Mr. * * was C — — n, to *present* the Presence and Violences of the Military Power at the Time of closing the Poll-Books for the Election. This Presentment was indeed carry'd, but with the visible Reluctance of the C — — n; and when it was carry'd, it was conceiv'd in such

a Manner, as by not making it personal, defeated great Part of the Effects expected from it. Yet, tho' about this Time the *Public Faith* of our Patriot became a little doubtful, it must be own'd he had still Friends, many of whom, I believe, meant well, who in all Companies, and upon all Occasions, took his Part; nor was it ever found that they were undeceived, till he pull'd off the Mask, and left no farther Room for *suspecting his Integrity*. While this Affair of the *Westminster* Election was drawing the Attention of the World, the Elections over the other Parts of the Kingdom fell out much more against the M——r's Interest than the most sanguine Enemy he had cou'd have imagin'd: But still upon the Meeting of the Parliament the A———n had a Majority. The Affair of the Election of a C———n of the C——tee of E——ns did indeed give the Country-Party some fresh Spirits; but it was soon found that the Majority upon that Occasion arose from the personal Regard they had for the Person proposed; and that they fell back to the M———r upon other Questions.

When the Affair of the *W———* Election came on, our Patriot was suggested as the proper Hand for presenting it; but he endeavour'd to shuffle it off from himself: However, as the Gentlemen who propos'd this were most of them in Parliament, he could not refuse the Office, without giving them very alarming Reasons for suspecting his Sincerity: Accordingly he did present it; and after examining the Grievances complain'd of at the Bar of the House, it was found that a most notorious Violation of the Rights of Election had been committed by the Military Power; the Election was declared void; the Returning Officer censur'd; and the Justices who had signed the Warrants for the Presence of the Soldiers, were ordered to attend the House when the Holidays were over.

During

During this Interval of the Holidays, our Patriot and his Friends had Leisure to look about them. They found, by the Success of the *Westminster* Election, that the M——r could never be able to get a Majority of this Parliament to stand by him in every dirty Jobb: They knew that many Elections were depending, which, if determined against the C——t, must throw the Majority actually against him. But what embarrass'd them most was, their having a Prospect of too great a Majority against the C——t. This Majority they were afraid would prove intractable, which might disconcert all their Schemes of a *narrow Comprehension*; and of governing by a Cabal of their own. It was therefore their Interest to make up Matters under-hand with the M——r; and by the Mediation of a Right H——ble Person, the following Plan was agreed on.

That the M——r should be set gently down: But that, in order to effect this, it was necessary for Mr. * *, &c. to carry the same Appearances of Opposition to him as before, and to make use of the same Shew of bringing him to Public Justice: That this Appearance was to continue till he came into imminent Danger; and that in the mean Time they should manage Matters so, as to prepare a sufficient Number of their own Friends, who should either embarrass and perplex Matters so, that should make it extremely difficult to come at Matters or Proofs for bringing him to any Account: Or if this could not be done, they were to declare openly in his Favour; but that in all Events they were to wear their old Mask of Patriotism, as long as possible. That the Posts of * * * *, &c. should be disposed of to * * * *, &c. And that * * * should have the T——le of * * *, it being thought inconsistent with his former Professions to accept of any Post, *unless it should happen afterwards to be for the Benefit and Advantage of himself and his Friends,*

to keep an obnoxious Person out: That the said * * *, &c. should use their utmost Credit and Influence with their Party, to induce them to give up the controverted Elections of * * *, and if the Candidates should drop the same, to have a Power of promising to have them provided for in the Revenue: And in order to give a Colour for pretending that there is an Alteration of Measures, as well as of Persons, that the Queen of *Hungary* should be assisted with all the Power of *Great Britain*; for which Purpose 16,000 *Hanoverians*, and 6000 *Hessians*, were to be immediately taken into Pay, at such Rates as should be prescribed.

These were the principal Articles of the Compromise; but their greatest Difficulty was, how to deal with their old Friends, so as to keep them easy in the mean Time. For this Purpose Mr. * * took Care to promise, vow, and swear, that every Thing should be settled upon the BROAD-BOTTOM; and appeared so very sincere, that he did not scruple owning he had made up Matters with the C—t; but protested by all that was sacred, he should take no Step without a *common Concert*. Even Tears were not wanting to confirm his Assurances, and one of the chief Reasons why the Party trusted him at that Time, when the Adjournment of the House was agreed to upon the M——'s leaving it, was because they could not conceive how any Man could disregard his own Character so far as to swerve from such Asseverations. However, that they might take all the Precautions possible, he submitted to be accountable for every Step he should take, to a certain Person of the highest Quality and Eminence, who is since dead; and who then undertook to answer for his Conduct and Fidelity.

By such Arts it was that Mr. * * brought a Majority of the well-meaning Opposition over to agree to an Adjournment of the House at that critical

tical Period, which was, in Effect, the whole of the important Service he did to the late A———n, and the Prejudice he was of to the Opposition. For by this Means the Friends of the late M———r had Time to recover the Consternation they were under, their new Friends had Time to settle themselves in their Preferments, and they both knew that when the latter were added to the former, they were an Over-Match for any Opposition.

When the other Operations of the Political Campaign came to be concerted, it was found necessary to preserve still the Appearances of Measures with their old Friends; which they did from a double Motive. First, they were afraid of throwing themselves entirely into the Hands of their new Allies, who seeing them separated from their old Friends, might have reunited and forced them into what Terms they should have demanded; and which they of Necessity must have complied with, because they must have lost all Credit and Power with their old Friends. In the second Place, it gave them an Opportunity of sounding the Party, and bringing over every Man who was ambitious enough of Preferment to forsake his Profession; and thus their Party would be strengthened, and then new Allies brought into a Dependence upon them, at least during the Time of the Enquiry into the late M———r's Conduct. Upon this Footing it was that a Motion for an Enquiry was made; in which Mr. * * desir'd to be excus'd, pretending that the many personal Altercations he had had with the M———r, and the Denunciations he had made against him, rendered it very indecent for him to sit as one of the Inquisitors into his Conduct. A Committee however was chosen, of which the Majority certainly meant well, and were indefatigable in their Enquiries. But after the first Report was made, it was found necessary to pass a Bill for indemnifying those Persons who should be Evidences against the

M——r. Even this Part of the Farce was gone through by our Patriot and his Friends. But the Bill was lost in another Place. In the mean Time this Scene of Diffimulation was not so artfully carried on, but that a great many, both without and within Doors, began to suspect the Sincerity of their Behaviour. Accordingly, when the Bill was lost, a Motion was made, which, if successful, must have ruined the New M——s to all Intents and Purposes. It was calculated to know by what Means the said Bill was lost. A Motion was accordingly made for searching the Journals of the H—— of P——s, and this Motion proved the Touchstone of the Party. If the Motion was not agreed to, it was plain that all that had been done, was not only ineffectual, but would expose those who had been most active in it to the Resentment of their exulting Enemies. It proved that the House of C——s had, in Effect, no Power of *Enquiry*, since no Evidence can be had of those Facts which are proper Subjects of Enquiry, but from the Testimony of the Accomplices; and this seemed to have been the Fort to which the late M——r, and his Friends, all along trusted. The new M——s, notwithstanding all that was urged upon this Head, voted against the Question; and accordingly we were enabled, from the Division of that Day, to judge of the whole Strength of their Party. Not but our Patriot had long before that Time given strong Indications of his Disposition to screen the Guilty, by making a long Apology in the House in Favour of the W——r J——es, who, notwithstanding the declared Violation of the Rights of the Subject they had been guilty of, were dismiss'd with a Reprimand.

The Repeal of the Septennial Act was a Measure which our Patriot and his Friends had long and earnestly contended for : He himself had voted for the Alteration of Triennial into Septennial Parliaments,

liaments, and therefore his being for restoring the former carried with it the greater Weight, as it had an Appearance of Sincerity, in not being ashamed of Repentance. The Party had several Times distinguished themselves upon this Occasion; and the Public, tho' they were by this Time fully convinced of their Intentions and Views, were now impatient to see what Devices or Shifts they could fall upon to reconcile so glaring an Inconsistency of Conduct. But they were by this Time far above all the Drudgery of preserving Appearances any longer: They voted plum, without putting themselves to the Trouble of any Apology.

The next favourite Motion I shall take Notice of is that of the Place-Bill, which we have already seen was the strong Test of Merit of the whole Party with the Nation; and their earnest Endeavours to obtain it induced the People to trust them so long. A certain R——t H———le Person, whose Province it was almost annually to bring in and speech for the said Bill, was amongst the first to oppose it; giving this very modest Reason, 'That it was a right Bill in the Time of the late M———r, but would be a very improper one now.' (*viz.* when he had the Honour of being in one of the late M———r's Posts) But a M———r humourously read over to him in the House one of his own Speeches, and the Reader may judge of the Effects which it produced.

We ought before this Time to have taken Leave of our Patriot in the Sphere of a C———r, and we are now to consider him in another Light; *unplaced*, and *unpensioned* perhaps, but in Possession of a P———t, which could it be transferred for Stock in *Change-Alley*, would bring in fifty Thousand Pounds: Add to this, all his Friends amply provided for; but what Share he has had in the Direction of Public Affairs, I shall not determine. Be that as it will, it is pretty certain that the boast-

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ed Resolution of accepting no P——e of Power or Profit, has been for some Time broken through ; witness a late Application for a considerable E——— t which was previously engaged to another, and flatly refused to him. Upon the whole, we shall take Leave of the Public, by submitting this short Detail of the Conduct of the Party to its Consideration, to judge of the Consistency of the Conduct of Men, who, as we have seen, so earnestly contended for the Liberty of the Subjects, the Preservation of their Property, and the Independency of the Constitution under a M———y, which all Posterity would have held in Detestation, had it not had such Successors ; under whom we have not seen any one of the terrible penal Laws, which afforded them so just Grounds of frequent Complaint and Opposition, so much as attempted to be repealed. We have seen the Public Expences and Public Debt increase instead of being diminished ; and we have seen this great and free K———m become an Accession to a petty E———e.

Such are thy Triumphs, thy Exploits, O ——!

F I N I S.





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